

Cargill Elevator Company/ Cargill, Incorporated, and Subsidiaries

Net Earnings and Net Worth, 1915-1961 (\$000 omitted)

1915-1934			1935-1954			1955-1961		
Crop year	Net earnings \$	Net worth \$	Crop year	Net earnings \$	Net worth \$	Crop year	Net earnings \$	Net worth \$
1915-16	n.a.	2,400	1935-36	(972)	8,094	1955-56	5,510	46,517
1916-17	1,024	2,668	1936-37	2,194	9,311	1956-57	4,218	50,096
1917-18	85	2,606	1937-38	(1,136)	8,544	1957-58	4,979	55,486
1918-19	578	3,051	1938-39	211	8,601	1958-59	9,121	63,682
1919-20	431	3,221	1939-40	1,117	9,263	1959-60	4,282	66,781
1920-21	(116)	3,093	1940-41	105	9,340	1960-61	5,088	70,716
1921-22	442	3,210	1941-42	2,749	11,620			
1922-23	34	3,244	1942-43	2,044	13,669			
1923-24	325	3,407	1943-44	973	15,480			
1924-25	859	3,840	1944-45	681	16,644			
1925-26	549	4,068	1945-46	1,537	17,643			
1926-27	433	4,265	1946-47	4,484	20,407			
1927-28	609	4,574	1947-48	3,008	23,722			
1928-29	531	4,871	1948-49	2,348	25,706			
1929-30	1,236	5,665	1949-50	5,292	27,973			
1930-31	1,302	6,392	1950-51	5,877	33,988			
1931-32	482	6,533	1951-52	673	34,202			
1932-33	1,156	6,977	1952-53	4,437	37,331			
1933-34	1,995	8,209	1953-54	3,972	39,844			
1934-35	944	8,592	1954-55	2,506	42,098			

A Glossary of Common Grain Merchandising Terms

The language of the marketplace is often as distinctive as the practices conducted there. Commodity trading has its own lexicon, and in fact, the same word may have distinctly differing meanings from one area of commodity trading to another. This glossary comprises terminology and definitions that relate more or less specifically to the grain trade (CMD Merchandising Training Manual, Cargill, Incorporated).

ACREAGE ALLOTMENT The limitation on planted acreage established by the government for each farmer for some basic crops.

ACREAGE RESERVE A part of the farm program that applies to basic commodities, under which the farmer receives payment from the government for not planting part or all of his acreage allotment.

ACTUALS Physical commodities, especially as distinguished from *Futures Contracts*.

AERATION Movement of outside air through grain, one of the most effective methods of conditioning grain; the system usually consists of a fan to move air and ducting to direct air movement.

AFLOAT Grain that is loaded in barges or vessels, in harbor or in transit, but has not reached its destination and been unloaded.

AMBIENT TEMPERATURE Temperature of the atmosphere surrounding the grain.

ARBITRAGE Simultaneous purchase of cash commodities or futures in one market against the sale of cash commodities or futures in the same or a different market in order to profit from a discrepancy in prices; also includes some aspects of hedging. See *Spreads*.

BACK LEG Condition that occurs when a leg is carrying an excessive amount of grain or the discharge spout is plugged, causing grain to fall back in the *Leg*.

BASIS Usually the spread or difference between the spot or "cash" price and the price of the nearby future. Basis may also be used to designate price differentials between "cash" and more distant futures, as well as different locations as specified.

BEAR One who believes prices are too high and will decline.

BEAR MARKET One in which large supplies and/or poor demand cause a decline in price.

BEARISH AND BULLISH When conditions suggest lower prices, a bearish situation is said to exist. If higher prices appear warranted, the situation is said to be bullish.

BID A price offered by a prospective buyer or his agent, subject, unless otherwise stated, to immediate acceptance for a specific amount of commodity; the expression of a firm interest in buying at a specified price.

BIN Storage room for grain, flat-bottomed or hopped, constructed of steel, cement or wood.

BIN BOARD A board or electronic graphics CRT with bin layout superimposed upon it, used to record daily changes in stocks of grain in elevator; references grain by lot, grade factors, date and amount.

BINDICATOR A device that indicates grain level in a bin, scale or spout.

BLENDING Mixing together two or more grains of different grade factors to attain a desired product.

BOARD APPEAL Step above *Federal Appeal* in the appeal process. The U.S. Department of Agriculture reviews the inspection and can overrule a federal appeal.

BOARD ORDER OF MARKET IF TOUCHED (MIT) ORDER An order to buy or sell when the market reaches a specific point. A board order to buy becomes a market order when the commodity sells (or is offered) at or below the order price. A board order to sell becomes a market order when the commodity sells (or is bid) at or above the order price.

BOARD OF TRADE, CHICAGO A licensed contract commodity exchange located in Chicago; affords facilities for both cash and futures trading in grains.

BOERNER DIVIDER A device that reduces the size of a sample of grain while maintaining the representatives of the original sample; used to cut the required size portion from the original sample.

BOP Branch office position; tells company what commodity-by-commodity and total position is—long/short/even.

BOT Abbreviation for "bought."

BREAK A sharp price decline.

BROAD TAPE A teletype reporting system that automatically prints out news, weather, markets, etc., as furnished from professional and government reporting services.

BROKER An agent entrusted with the execution of an order. He or she may be employed in the office of the commission house that carries the account or may be a floor broker or pit broker who actually executes the order on the trading floor. See *Customer's Man*.

BROKERAGE The fee charged by a broker for execution of a transaction; may be a flat amount or a percentage.

BUCKET, BUCKETING The illegal practice of some brokers in accepting orders to buy or sell without executing such orders. Such a broker hopes to profit by pocketing the loss a customer may experience upon closing out the transaction. If the customer closes out at a profit, the broker pays that profit. The illegality lies in an agent's direct dealing with his principal without disclosing that fact.

BUHLER Type of conveyor, utilizing steel flighting on a chain to push grain through an enclosed housing; a relatively dust-free method of conveying grain.

BULGE A sharp price advance.

BULL One who believes prices are too low and will advance.

BULL MARKET A market in which small supplies and/or strong demand causes prices to rise.

BUTTERFLY SPREAD A spread involving purchases or sales of one futures contract month occurring between the offsetting sales or purchases of two other futures contract months.

BUYING HEDGE Buying futures to hedge cash sales in the present or future. See *Hedging*.

BUYER'S MARKET A condition of the market in which there is an abundance of goods available, and hence buyers can afford to be selective and may be able to buy at less than the price that had previously prevailed.

BUY IN To cover or liquidate a sale.

CALL A period in which trading is conducted to establish the price for each futures month at a particular time (i.e., an opening or closing call).

Buyer's Call Purchase of a specified quantity of a specific grade of a commodity at a fixed number of points above or below a specified delivery month in futures, with the buyer being allowed a certain period of time within which to fix the price by either purchasing a future for the account of the seller or indicating to the seller when he wishes to price-fix.

Seller's Call The same as *Buyer's Call*, with the difference that the seller has the right of determining the time to price-fix. See *Futures Contracts*.

CALLS AND PUTS "Call," an option permitting its holder (who has paid a fee for the option) to call for a certain commodity or security at a fixed price in a stated quantity within a stated period. The broker is paid to bring the buyer and seller together. The buyer of this right to call expects the price of the commodity or security to rise so that he can call for it at a profit. If the price falls, the option will not be exercised. The reverse transaction is a "Put."

CARLOAD For grains, rail cars hold about 3,300 bushels.

CAR MOVER A hydraulic mechanism that moves rail cars into position for unloading or loading.

CARRYING CHARGES, CHARGING COSTS (1) Those costs incurred in warehousing the physical commodity generally including interest, insurance and storage; (2) full carrying charge market: a situation in the futures market when the price difference between delivery months reflects the full costs of interest, insurance and storage.

CARRYOVER That part of current supplies of a commodity composed of stocks from previous production/marketing seasons.

CARTER DOCKAGE TESTER A machine that runs samples of grain over a series of sieves, removing the collecting dockage for grade determination. Sieves are interchangeable, and the machine may be adjusted to perform for most grains.

CASH COMMODITY Physical merchandise; goods available for delivery immediately or within a designated period following sale; includes a commodity bought or sold "to arrive."

CASH TRANSACTION Purchase or sale of physical merchandise; can involve futures contracts; however, term is commonly used to differentiate between cash and futures transactions.

ccc Commodity Credit Corporation.

cbc Commodity Exchange Commission.

C. & F. (COST AND FREIGHT) Cost and freight paid to port of destination.

CFTC Commodity Futures Trading Commission (replaced CEA, 1975).

CERTIFIED STOCKS Stocks of a commodity that have been graded, have passed various tests and found to be of deliverable quality against *Futures Contracts*, which are stored at the delivery points and in warehouses designated regular for delivery by the exchange.

CHARTER A contract governing the engagement of a vessel, usually to a given destination at a fixed rate.

CHARTING The use of graphs and charts in the technical analysis of futures markets to plot trends of price movements, average movements of price, and volume and open interest. See *Technical Analysis*.

cif Cost, insurance and freight paid (or included) to a port of destination.

CLASS 2, GROUP G Designates electrical equipment that is certified by underwriter laboratories as explosion-proof.

CLEANING The act of removing foreign material and "fines" from grain. Usually done just prior to loading out, accomplished by running the grain over screens. See *Fines*.

CLEARING CONTRACTS The process of substituting principals to transactions through the operation of clearing associations, in order to simplify the settlement of accounts.

CLEARING HOUSE, CLEARING ASSOCIATION The separate agency associated with a futures exchange through which *Futures Contracts* are offset or fulfilled and through which financial settlement is made.

CLEARING MEMBER A member of a *Clearing House* or association. Each clearing member must also be a member of the exchange. Each member of the exchange, however, need not be a member of the clearing association; if not, his trades must be registered and settled through a clearing member.

CLOSE The period at the end of the trading session during which all trades are officially declared as having been executed "at or on the close." The closing range is the range of prices on trades made during this designated period.

CLOSE OF OPENING ORDER An order that specifies buying or selling at the end or beginning of the session at a price within the closing or opening range.

C.O.F.O. Commercially objectionable foreign odor.

COMMISSION Fee charged by a broker for performance of specified market functions.

COMMISSION HOUSE, BROKERAGE HOUSE A concern that buys or sells for the accounts of customers.

COMMISSION MERCHANT One who makes a trade, either for another member of the exchange or for a nonmember client, but who makes the trade in his own name and becomes liable as principal to the other party to the transaction.

COMMITMENT OF TRADERS REPORT A report issued by the Chicago Board of Trade at the end of each month that defines the futures market positions of various classes of traders.

CONDITION Refers to the quality of the grain with respect to temperature, moisture, mold and insect infestations.

CONSIGNMENT An unsold shipment of grain placed with a commission man who will offer it for sale.

CONTRACT (1) The bilateral obligations of buyer and seller in a transaction; (2) a unit of the commodity being traded. Orders must specify the number of bushels to be bought and sold. Also see *Round Lot*.

CONTRACT GRADES, DELIVERABLE GRADES The grades of a commodity listed in the rules of an exchange as those that can be used to deliver against a *Futures Contract*.

CONTRACT MARKET An organized commodity futures market that qualifies under the Commodity Exchange Act.

CONSERVATION RESERVE The section of the *Soil Bank* program calling for long-term contracts for the conversion of crop land into grasses, trees and water conservation uses.

CONTROLLED COMMODITY Commodities subject to Commodity Exchange Authority regulation, listed in the Commodity Exchange Act. The list is composed of domestically produced agricultural products.

CORNER (1) To secure such relative control of a commodity or security that its price can be manipulated; (2) in the extreme situation, obtaining more contracts

requiring the delivery of commodities or securities than the quantity of such commodities or securities actually in existence.

COUNTRY ELEVATOR A grain elevator located in the immediate farming community to which farmers bring their grain for sale or storage, as distinct from a terminal elevator, which is located at a major marketing center.

COVER The purchase of futures and/or cash to offset a previously established short position.

CROP YEAR Period used for statistical purposes, from the harvest of a crop to the corresponding period in following year. U.S. wheat crop year begins June 1 and ends May 31; cotton, August 1-July 31; varying dates for other commodities. Also, some agribusiness firms often refer to their corporate fiscal year as their crop year.

C.R.P. Conservation Reserve Program, a 10-year government set-aside program that pays producers an annual payment if they agree to idle erodible land.

CRUDE OIL Oil that has undergone the first stage(s) of refinement.

CRUSH (Soybeans) The process that converts soybeans into meal and oil; also, a term used to describe a particular spreading posture between soybeans and products.

CURRENT DELIVERY Delivery during the present month.

CUSTOMER'S MAN, FUTURES COMMISSIONS BROKER, REGISTERED REPRESENTATIVE An employee of a commission house (also called a broker, account executive, solicitor, or registered representative) who engages in soliciting or accepting and handling orders for the purchase or sale of any commodity for future delivery on or subject to the rules of any contract market and who, in or in connection with such solicitations or acceptance of orders, accepts any money, securities, or property (or extends credit in lieu thereof) to margin any trades or contracts that result or may result therefrom. They must be licensed under the Commodity Exchange Act when handling business in commodities covered thereby.

CUT A portion of a sample drawn by a manual or automatic sampling device.

CYCLONE A machine for removing dust from dust-laden air. It blows air into a chamber where the dust-laden air moves in a circular path. Centrifugal force is used to separate out the dust, which collects at the hopped bottom of the chamber.

DATE GAME A practice followed by some futures longs during delivery months that is aimed at the avoidance or stopping of taking physical deliveries of commodities unless carrying charges are relatively attractive or close to full.

DAY ORDERS Limited orders that are to be executed the day for which they are effective and are automatically canceled at the close of that day.

DAY TRADERS Commodity traders, generally members of the exchange active on the trading floor, who take positions in commodities and then liquidate them prior to the close of the same trading day.

DEFAULT (1) In reference to the federal farm loan program, the decision on the part of a producer of commodities not to repay the government loan but instead to surrender his crops; (2) in futures markets, the theoretical failure of a party to a *Futures Contract* to either make or take delivery of the physical commodity as required under the contract.

DEFICIENCY PAYMENT Difference between target price and loan rate or market price; payment to producer for complying with program set-aside requirements, providing the producer income protection without supporting prices directly.

DELIVERY MARKET STOCKS, VISIBLE Grain stocks physically located in the delivery marketplace and theoretically available for delivery in satisfaction of *Futures Contracts*.

DELIVERY MONTH The calendar month during which a *Futures Contract* matures.

DELIVERY NOTICE The notification of delivery of the actual commodity on the contract issued by the seller of the futures to the *Clearing House*.

DELIVERY POINTS Those locations designated by commodity exchanges at which a commodity covered by a *Futures Contract* may be delivered in fulfillment of the contract.

DELIVERY PRICE The price fixed by the *Clearing House* at which deliveries on futures are invoiced; also the price at which the *Futures Contract* is settled when deliveries are made.

DEMURRAGE Fees charged to shippers/receivers who fail to load/unload transportation equipment in the allowed free time.

DIFFERENTIALS The price differences between classes, grades and locations of a given commodity.

DISCOUNT Applied to cash grain prices that are below the future, to deliveries at a lesser price than others (May at a discount under July) or to lesser prices caused by quality differences.

DISCRETIONARY ACCOUNT An account for which buying and selling orders can be placed by a broker or other person without the prior consent of the account owner for each such individual order, specific authorization having been previously granted by the account owner.

DISTANT OR DEFERRED DELIVERY Usually means one of the more distant months in which futures or cash trading is taking place.

D.L.Q. Distinctly Low Quality. Grain that is obviously of inferior quality because it contains foreign substances or because it is in an unusual state or condition and cannot be graded properly by use of the other grading factors provided in the standards. D.L.Q. includes any objects too large to enter the sampling device.

DIVERSION PAYMENT Per acre payment producer receives for idling land in addition to the unpaid acreage reduction program; optional.

DOCKAGE Essentially consists of grain of nonstandard size and other nongrain matter that can be readily removed from grain samples by the use of appropriate sieves and cleaning devices, including those employing air currents. Dockage normally is free of cost to the buyer, deducted from the gross weight of the shipment.

DRYER A unit that provides the conditions for removing moisture from a product.

DRYERATION A modified drying process involving the portable batch or continuous-flow dryer. In this process the product is dried with heated air to a moisture level of 16%–18%, wet basis. The product is transferred immediately without cooling to a temporary storage (dryeration) bin equipped for aeration. The product is allowed to set for a few hours to become tempered before aeration is started. Cooling is accomplished in about 12 hours with airflow rates of about $0.007 \text{ m}^3 \text{ m}^{-2} \text{ s}^{-1}$ ($1/2 \text{ cfm/bu.}$). At this low airflow rate, nearly all of the heat in the product is utilized to further dry it. The moisture content may be further reduced 3% to 4% during the 12 hours of cooling.

DRYING The removal of moisture from a substance, involving the simultaneous transfer of heat to the substance and moisture from the substance, known as unit operation. The heat for evaporation of the moisture in the material is transferred by conduction, convection, radiation and internal heating, such as by respiration and dielectric heating. The vapor mass is transferred by diffusion or capillary flow to the surface, from which the vapor is carried by a gas. As a result of drying, the biological and chemical activity of the product is decreased.

ELASTICITY A characteristic of commodities that describes the interaction of the supply, demand, and price of a commodity. A commodity is said to be elastic in demand when a price change creates an increase or decrease in consumption. The supply of a commodity is said to be elastic when a change in price creates change in the production of the commodity. Inelasticity of supply or of demand exists in either of the reverse situations, when either supply or demand is relatively unresponsive to changes in price.

ELEVATIONS Profits taken on a sale contract that is recognized as the grain is loaded out of an elevator.

ELLISCUP Manual sampling device, designed to draw a sample from grain moving to a conveyor belt.

ENSILAGE Chopped animal feed that is stored in bulk, usually in a moist condition.

EVEN No position or no net position, as in the case where purchases of cash grain or futures contracts are offset by sales of cash grain or futures contracts.

EXCHANGE OF SPOT OR CASH COMMODITY FOR FUTURES The simultaneous exchange of a specified quantity of a cash commodity for the equivalent quantity in futures; usually instituted between parties carrying opposite hedges in the same delivery month. Also known as "exchange for physical," "against actuals," or "giving up futures for cash." In grain, the exchange is made outside the Pit.

EX-PIT TRANSACTION A trade made outside the exchange trading ring or pit, which is legal in certain instances. It is primarily used in price fixing transactions involving the purchase of cash commodities at a specified basis.

FARMER OWNED RESERVE A U.S. Department of Agriculture program that enables the farmer to store "loan" grain for 3 years in return for storage payments from the government. The FOR provides a government incentive to store grain when prices are relatively low.

FARM PRICES The prices received by farmers for their products, as published by the U.S. Department of Agriculture; determined as of the 15th of each month.

F.A.Q. Fair average quality.

FEDERAL APPEAL May be called for at any time, but must be preceded by an official inspection, a reinspection, or appeal. It is usually called when either buyer or seller believes the original inspection to be in error because of the original inspector's interpretation of his findings. See *Board Appeal*.

FEED RATIOS The variable relationships of the cost of feeding animals to market-weight sales prices, expressed as ratios, such as the hog/corn ratio. These serve as indicators of the profit return or lack of it in feeding animals to market weight.

F.G.I.S. Federal Grain Inspection Service.

FILL OR KILL ORDER A commodity order that demands immediate execution or cancellation.

FINES Small-diameter particles such as those that form from larger particles during handling and drying.

FIRST NOTICE DAY The first day on which notices of intentions to deliver actual commodities against futures market positions can be made or received. First notice day will vary with each commodity and exchange. It usually precedes the beginning of the delivery period.

FIXING THE PRICE The determination of the exact price at which a cash commodity will be invoiced after a "call sale" has previously been made based on a specific number of points "on or off" a specified futures month.

FLAKE A soybean morsel from which the oil has been extracted.

FLASH Hand signals used by *Pit Brokers*.

FLAT PRICES TRADES Trades in which the actual flat price is established at the time of the trade—no exchange of futures.

FLOOR BROKER Any person who, in or surrounding any *Pit*, *Ring*, post, or other place provided by a contract market for the meeting of persons similarly engaged, executes for others any order for the purchase or sale of any commodity for future delivery or subject to the rules of any contract market and who for such services receives or accepts a prescribed fee or brokerage.

FLOOR PHONE MAN An employee of a brokerage house who serves as the communication link between his firm's office and the brokers in the pits.

FLOOR TRADER An exchange member who executes his own trades by being personally present in the place provided for futures trading.

F.O.B. Free on board. Usually covers all delivery, inspection and elevation costs involved in putting commodities on board whatever shipment conveyance is being used.

FORAGE Natural pasture for livestock.

FREE SUPPLY The quantity of a commodity available for commercial sale; does not include government-held stocks.

FUMIGANT A chemical used to destroy insects in grain; may come in solid, liquid or gaseous form. Active form is gaseous, poison; may be toxic to humans also.

FUNDAMENTAL ANALYSIS An approach to analysis of futures markets and commodity futures price trends that examines the underlying factors affecting the supply and demand of the commodity being traded in *Futures Contracts*. For contrast, see *Technical Analysis*.

FUNGIBILITY The characteristic of total interchangeability. *Futures Contracts* for the same commodity and delivery month are fungible due to their standardized specifications for quality, quantity, delivery date and delivery locations.

FUTURES CONTRACT Agreement to buy and receive or to sell and deliver a commodity at a future date, with the following distinguishing characteristics:

1. All trades in the same contract, such as a 5,000-bushel *Round Lot* of grain, have the same unit of trading.
2. The terms of all trades are standardized.
3. A position may be offset later by an opposite trade in the same contract.
4. Prices are determined by trades made by open outcry in the *Pit* within the hours prescribed.
5. The contract has a basic grade, but more than one grade may be deliverable.
6. Delivery is required during designated periods.
7. The trades are cleared through a *Clearing House* daily. (Traders in cash or spot goods usually refer to sales for shipment or delivery in the future as "deferred" or "forward" sales. Such sales, however, are not standardized as are futures contracts described above.)

GENERIC CERTIFICATE A form of currency backed by CCC-owned commodities and issued by the U.S. Department of Agriculture primarily to producers as payment for participation in various farm programs.

GIVE-UP A contract executed by one broker for the client of another broker, which the client orders turned over to the latter broker. Generally speaking, the order is sent over the leased wires of the first broker, who collects a wire toll from the other broker for the use of his facilities.

GOOD-TIL-CANCELLED (G.T.C.), OPEN ORDER An order that will remain open for execution at any time in the future until the customer cancels it.

GRAIN FUTURES ACT A federal statute that regulates trading in grain futures.

GRAINS For purposes of the Chicago Board of Trade: wheat, oats, rye, corn and soybeans.

GROSS PROCESSING MARGIN (GPM) In the case of soybeans, GPM refers to the difference between the price paid for soybeans and the sum of prices received from the sale of oil and meal products after processing.

HARD SPOT An interval of strength in the market, usually resulting from considerable buying.

HEAVY Applied to a market with an apparent number of selling orders overhanging the market without a corresponding number of buying orders.

HEDGING Briefly stated, hedging is the sale of futures against the physical commodity or its equivalent, as protection against a price decline, or the purchase of futures against forward sales or anticipated requirements of the physical commodity as protection against a price advance. Hedging on futures markets consists in buying (or selling) *Futures Contracts* in the amount to which one is long (or short) on the actual commodity. Usually, the futures transaction is nearly simultaneous with the spot transaction. Hedgers thereby fix or protect a *Carrying Charge*, a processing margin, etc. The futures hedge is thus a temporary substitute for an ordinary transaction that will occur later. Hedging also provides opportunities for added profit.

HOT SPOT Grain that has become hot as a result of excessive respiration or insect activity.

I.C.C. Interstate Commerce Commission.

IN BOND An inspected, sealed and cleared shipment, actually in transit or scheduled for export.

INDICATION, INTIMATION A tentative or subject bid; a less-than-firm expression of willingness to buy at a specified price.

INSPECTION, OFFICIAL INSPECTION In commodity marketing, an official evaluation procedure that results in a grade or class designation being assigned. Supplied by the Federal Grain Inspection Service (FGIS).

INVERSES, INVERTED MARKET A futures market in which the nearer months are selling at premiums to the more distant months, hence, a market displaying "inverse carrying charges." These price relationships are characteristic of situations in which supplies are currently in shortage.

INVISIBLE SUPPLY Uncounted stocks in the hands of wholesalers, manufacturers and producers that cannot be identified accurately; stocks outside commercial channels but available for commerce.

JOB LOT A unit of trading smaller than the regular *Round Lot*, usually, in grains, 1,000 or 2,000 bushels. No job lots are traded on the Chicago Board of Trade.

LAST TRADING DAY The day on which trading ceases for a particular delivery month. All contracts that have not been offset by the end of trading on that day must thereafter be settled by delivery of the actual physical commodity or by agreement in the form of *Wash Sales*.

LEG A vertical, enclosed conveyor belt that has buckets attached to the belt that elevates grain. The grain is discharged by centrifugal force at the top of the enclosure.

LETTER OF WARNING A written notice issued by the CEA to an individual or firm, advising of an improper practice or specific violation of law, trading regulations, etc.

LIFE OF DELIVERY OR CONTRACT The period between the beginning of trading in a particular future to the expiration of that future.

LIMIT ONLY In trading, the definite price stated by a customer to a broker restricting the execution of an order to buy for not more than or to sell for not less than the stated price.

LIMIT (UP OR DOWN) The maximum price advance or decline from the previous day's settlement price permitted in one trading session by the rules of the exchange.

LIMITED ORDER One in which the client sets a limit on the price, as contrasted with a *Market Order*.

LIQUIDATION The closing out of a long position. It is also sometimes used to denote closing out a short position, but this is more often referred to as "covering."

LIQUIDATING MARKET One in which the predominant feature is longs selling their holdings.

LOAD ORDER Identify grain to be shipped, specify grade factors to be met and give all information necessary for shipping grain in terms of quality and quantity. It gives the superintendent authority to load grain out of the elevator.

LOAN PRICE The statutory price at which growers may obtain crop loans from the government.

LOAN PROGRAM The primary means of government price support, in which the government lends money to the farmer at a preannounced price schedule with the farmer's crop as collateral; The primary method by which the government acquires stocks of agricultural commodities.

LOAN RATE Government support price; price at which government agrees to lend producers money on eligible bushels; price at which government agrees to purchase grain.

LONG One who has bought grain; also one who is on the buying side of an open (unhedged) futures contract.

LONG THE BASIS This is said of one who has bought cash or spot goods and has hedged them with sales of the futures. He has therefore bought at a certain *Basis* on or off futures and hopes to sell at a better basis in the future for a profit.

LOT SYSTEM Used to identify the kind and quality of the various types and varieties of grain as grouped in the bins in an elevator.

MARGIN The amount deposited by buyers and sellers of futures to insure performance on contract commitments, serving as a performance bond rather than a down payment; established by the respective exchanges.

MARGIN CALL A request to deposit either the original margin at the time of the transaction or to restore the guarantee to "maintenance margin" levels required for the duration of the time the contract is held.

MARKET ORDER, BOARD ORDER An order to buy or sell when the market reaches a specified point. A board order to buy becomes a market order when the commodity sells (or is bid) at or above the order price.

MARKETING LOAN The Secretary of Agriculture is required to lower the repayment level for loans when prices drop below the loan rate for certain crops. Most common repayment level is the "World Market Price."

MARKETING QUOTA A federally enforced restriction on the amount of a commodity that a producer is permitted to sell. Usually conforms to the quantity of wheat, cotton, etc., the farmer can grow on his acreage allotment.

MATURITY The period within which a futures contract can be settled by delivery of the actual commodity; the period between *First Notice Day* and *Last Trading Day*.

MEMBERS' RATE The commission charge for the execution of an order for a person

who is a member of and thereby has a seat on the exchange. It is less than the commission charged to a customer who does not have a seat on the exchange.

NEGOTIABLE WAREHOUSE RECEIPT Document issued by a "regular" warehouse, which guarantees existence and grade of commodity held in store. Transfer of ownership can be accomplished by endorsement of the *Warehouse Receipt*.

NOMINAL PRICE A declared price for a futures month. Used at times to designate a closing price when no trading has taken place in that particular contract during the final few minutes of the trading session. It is usually the average between the bid and asked prices.

NONRESOURCE LOAN A loan under the U.S. agricultural program to farmers on the security of surplus crops that are delivered to the government and held off the market. The loan must be liquidated as provided by the government's program, but the government has no recourse against the farmer for a deficiency if the security fails to bring the amount of the loan.

NO PRICE ESTABLISHED (N.P.E.) A form of cash grain contracting which, while initially establishing neither an unpriced basis nor a fixed flat price, does transfer title and risk of loss to the buyer upon delivery and provides the seller with the option of subsequently fixing a price related to bids made by the buyer for nearby delivery to the same location as that at which the contracted grain was originally received. This form of trading is sometimes referred to as deferred price contracting.

NOTICE DAY Any day on which notices of intent to deliver on *Futures Contracts* may be issued.

O.C.O. One cancels other, in which filling of one order cancels customer's alternative order.

OFFER A firm expression of willingness to sell at a given price.

OFF-GRADE A grade different from the grade of grain in the major portion of the lot.

OFFICIAL INSPECTION See *Inspection*.

OFFSET Usually the liquidation of a long or short futures position by an equal and opposite futures transaction.

OFF-UNDER In quoting the *Basis*, the number of points the cash price will be off or under a specified futures price.

OILS In commodity trading usually includes soybean oil, cottonseed oil, olive oil and other edible fats that are broadly substitutive.

OMNIBUS ACCOUNT An account carried by one futures commission merchant with another, in which the transactions of two or more persons are combined rather than designated separately, and the identity of individual accounts is not disclosed.

ON-OVER In quoting the *Basis*, the number of points the cash commodity is above or over a specified futures month.

ON CONSIGNMENT GRAIN Usually refers to grain conveyed to a broker for sale in the cash market.

OPEN CONTRACTS Contracts that have been bought or sold without the transaction having been completed by subsequent sale or repurchase or actual delivery or receipt of commodity.

OPEN INTEREST The total of unfilled or unsatisfied contracts on one side of the market. In any one delivery month the short interest always equals the long interest, since the total number of contracts sold must equal the total number bought.

OPEN OUTCRY Required method of registering all bids and offers in the *Pits*.

OPENING RANGE, CLOSING RANGE In open auction with many buyers and sellers, commodities are often traded at several prices at the opening or close of the market. Buying or selling orders at the opening or closing might be filled at any point within such a price range.

OPTION A term sometimes erroneously applied to a futures contract. It may refer to a specific delivery month, as "the July option." Puts and *Calls* or privileges are true options entailing no delivery obligation. Futures contracts are not options.

ORIGINAL MARGIN The margin needed to cover a specific new position.

OUT-OF-CONDITION Grain that has deteriorated in soundness (e.g., heating, sour or musty grain).

OVERSOLD OR OVERBOUGHT MARKETS When the speculative long interest has been drastically reduced and the speculative short interest increases, actually or relatively, a market is said to be oversold. At such times, sharp rallies often materialize. On the other hand, when the speculative short interest decreases sharply, a market is said to be overbought. At such times, the market is often in a position to decline sharply.

OVERSUPPLY A market situation in which available commodities exceed demonstrated demand; the result is usually seen in lower prices.

PAPER PROFIT The profit that might be realized if the open contract were liquidated as of a certain time or at a certain price. Margin requirements are adjusted according to paper profits; hence, they are to some extent "real."

PARITY A theoretically equal relationship between commodity prices and all other prices; equality of relationship. Specifically, in farm program legislation, parity is defined in such a manner that the purchasing power of a unit of the commodity is maintained at the level prevailing during some earlier historical base period.

PELICAN A device used for cutting across a flowing stream of grain in order to obtain a representative sample for grading purposes.

PIK Payment in kind; government payment for participating in various farm programs is in commodities versus cash.

PIK & ROLL Term used to describe the procedure a producer follows in redeeming government commodities with generic certificates.

PIT BROKER A broker who works in the *Pit* filling *Futures Contract* orders for customers.

PIT, RINGS Designated locations on the trading floor where futures trading takes place in particular commodities.

PLACEMENT DATE Constructive placement occurs when a railroad is unable to place cars on elevator tracks for loading or unloading due to the elevator's inability to accept the units when they arrive; *demurrage* begins at first 7:00 A.M. thereafter. Actual placement is when the cars are placed on the elevator's tracks.

FLIMSOLL MARK A load line or set load-line markings on an oceangoing cargo ship.

PLUGGED LEG A *Leg* in which the boot has become filled with grain and stopped the belt.

POINT The minimum price fluctuation in futures. It is equal to 1/100 of one cent in most futures traded in decimal units. In grains it is 1/8 of one cent.

POSITION LIMIT The maximum number of contracts one can hold "open" under the rules of the CEA.

POSITION TRADER A commodity trader who either buys or sells contracts and holds them for an extended period of time, as distinguished from the day trader, who will normally initiate and liquidate a futures position within a single trading session.

PREMIUM The excess in price at which one delivery or quality of grain is selling over the value of another delivery or quality, or the price relationship between cash and future.

PRIMARY MARKET, COUNTRY MARKET The centers to which the farmers bring their crops for sale, such as country grain elevators.

PRIVATE WIRE A leased or owned communication link for the exclusive use of a single individual or brokerage house.

PROBE (Trier) A double-tube compartmented device of varying standard lengths made from brass or aluminum and used to sample grain.

PUBLIC ELEVATORS Grain storage facilities in which space is rented out to whoever wishes to pay for it; where grain is stored in bulk. These are licensed and regulated by the state and/or federal government and may also be approved as regular for delivery on an organized commodity exchange.

PURCHASE AGREEMENT A form of government price support in which the government agrees to buy commodities from a farmer at a specified time at a designated loan price.

PURCHASE AND SALES STATEMENT (P & S) A statement sent by a *Commission Merchant* to a customer when his futures position has changed. It shows the amount involved, the prices at which the position was acquired and closed out, the gross profit or loss, the commission charges and the net profit or loss on the transactions.

PUT THRU Elevator loads plus unloads divided by two.

PYRAMIDING Using the profits on previously established positions as margin for adding to that position.

QUOTATIONS The changing prices on cash grains and futures.

QUOTE A tentative or subject offer; a less-than-firm expression of willingness to sell at a specified price.

RANGE The difference between the highest and lowest prices recorded during a specified trading period.

REACTION Downward tendency in prices following an advance.

REALIZING Taking profits.

RECOVERY Advance after a decline.

REGULATED COMMODITIES Those commodities over which the Commodity Exchange Authority has supervision are known as "regulated." This does not mean that the prices are controlled. The CEA simply concerns itself with the orderly operation of the futures market and at times, investigates abnormal price movements. Under the Commodity Exchange Act, approved June 15, 1936, definite regulations were established providing for the safeguarding of customers' money deposited as margin.

REPORTING LIMIT Sizes of positions set by the exchanges and/or by the Commodity Exchange Authority at or above which commodity traders must make daily reports to either or both the exchange and the Commodity Exchange Authority as to the size of the position by commodity, by delivery month, and according to the purpose of trading (i.e., speculative or *Hedging*).

REPRESENTATIVE SAMPLE A sample obtained by *Official Inspection* that is of the proper size (approximately 2 1/2 quarts) and handled in a secure manner.

RESTING ORDER Instructions to buy at a figure below the present market price or sell at a figure above it.

RESTRICTED STOCKS Loan stocks, etc.; a separate segregation that, during recent years of control, has been applied to supplies officially off the market for a definite or indefinite period.

RETENDER The right of holders of *Futures Contracts* who have been tendered a

Delivery Notice through the *Clearing House* to offer the notice for sale on the open market, liquidating their obligation to take delivery under the contract; applicable only to certain commodities and only within a specified period of time.

REX Refers to a reinspection, may be called for by a shipper when he thinks the official grade is too low. A rex may be called by the buyer when he thinks the grade may be too high. Ordinarily, the last official grade applies on the sale whether it is fixed after or before the sale is made.

RIVER HOUSE *Terminal Elevator* located on an inland waterway; barge load primary function, may be capable also of shipping by rail/truck.

ROUND LOT A contract trading unit. Round lots of grain are 5,000 bushels.

ROUND TURN The completion of both a purchase and an offsetting sale of futures or vice versa.

SAMPLE In marketing, one or more units of a product given free (or sold at a price far below market) in order to induce prospective buyers to give it a trial or to enable them to determine its characteristics by inspection or analysis.

SAMPLE GRADE In commodities, usually the lowest-quality grade designation, one that normally is not acceptable for delivery in settlement of a *Futures Contract*.

SCALPER A speculator operating on the trading floor who provides market liquidity by buying and selling rapidly, with small profits or losses, and who holds his position for a short time. Typically, a scalper stands ready to buy at a fraction below the last transaction price and to sell at a fraction above.

SELLER'S MARKET A condition of the market in which there is a scarcity of goods available, and hence sellers can obtain better conditions of sale or higher prices.

SELLER'S OPTION The right of a seller to select, within the limits prescribed by a contract, the quality of the commodity delivered and/or the time and/or place of delivery.

SELLING HEDGE Selling futures to hedge cash purchases in present or future. See *Hedging*.

SETTLEMENT PRICE The daily price at which the *Clearing House* clears all of the day's trades; also a price that may be established by the Exchange to settle contracts unliquidated because of acts of God, such as floods, market congestion or other causes.

SHORT The selling side of an open futures contract; also refers to a trader whose net position shows an excess of open sales over open purchases.

SHORT THE BASIS This is said of a person or firm who has sold cash or spot goods and has hedged them with purchases of futures. He has therefore sold at a certain *Basis* and expects to buy back at a lower basis for a profit.

SHRINKAGE Grain shrinks in both weight and volume when dried. The volume of shrinkage for shelled corn is relatively high compared to other grains, figured using table for varying amounts of moisture removal.

SLATE POSITION, FLAT PRICE POSITION The net exposed or unhedged position in a given commodity. The net difference between total sales of futures and/or cash and total purchases of futures and/or cash.

SOIL BANK A government program designated to take farmland out of productive use. The government pays the farmer to not plant crops; instead, to plant the land in grass or trees.

SOLICITOR A member or nonmember who solicits business for a member.

SPECULATOR One who attempts to anticipate price changes and through market activities make profits and who is not hedging or spreading.

SPOT COMMODITY Physical goods available for immediate delivery following sale;

improperly used to include a commodity bought or sold "to arrive"; also called *Actuals*.

SPOT PRICE The current or nearby price at which a physical commodity is selling at a designated place.

SPREADING, SPREADS, STRADDLES These terms mean the same thing, but in practice the grain trade uses the term "spread," whereas other commodity interests use the term "straddle." A spread may be defined as the purchase of one future against the sale of another future of the same commodity or a different commodity in the same or different markets. CEA defines spreading only in terms of the same commodity, whereas exchanges define it to also include different but related commodities. The term "spread" is also used to refer to the difference between the price of one futures month and the price of another month of the same commodity.

SQUEEZE A manipulative attempt by one principal or company or a small group of traders to influence market prices in a certain direction.

STIPULATION OF COMPLIANCE In commodity usage, formal assurance on the part of an individual or firm that an administrative request or order from CEA or other regulative body will be followed.

STOP ORDER, STOP LOSS ORDER An order entered to buy or sell when the market reaches a specified point. A stop order to buy becomes a *Market Order* when the commodity sells (or is bid) at or above the stop price. A stop order to sell becomes a *Market Order* when the commodity sells (or is offered) at or below the stop price. The purpose of a stop loss order is to limit losses or protect a profit.

SUBSIDY A sum of money offered by government to assist in the establishment or support of an enterprise or program that is considered to be in the public interest.

SWAPS Switching one cash position for another—same quantity, same price, different position.

SWEATING Accumulation of free moisture on the surface of the kernels.

SWITCH The liquidation of a position in one future of a commodity and the simultaneous reinstatement of such position in another future of the same commodity. It may be done "at market" or at a specified difference. When done by hedgers, this tactic is referred to as "rolling forward" the hedge.

TARGET PRICE Used to calculate *Deficiency Payment*.

TARIFF (1) Rail grain rates apply equally to all shippers and are filed with the regulatory bodies in schedules called tariffs; (2) a published schedule of charges for handling and storing grain for the account of others at licensed public grain *Terminal Elevators*.

TECHNICAL ANALYSIS An approach to analysis of futures markets and likely future trends of commodity prices that examines the technical factors of market activity. Technical analysts normally examine patterns of price change, rates of change, and changes in volume of trading and open interest. This data is often charted to show trends and formations that will in turn serve as indicators of likely future price movements.

TECHNICAL BALLY (OR DECLINE) A price movement resulting from conditions developing within the futures market itself and not dependent on outside supply and demand factors. These conditions would include changes in the *Open Interest* volume, degree or recent price movement and approach of *First Notice Day*.

TENDER (1) Delivery against a futures position; (2) an announcement that ex-

presses the terms under which a principal has interest in either buying or selling commodities.

TERMINAL ELEVATOR A grain storage facility at one of the major centers of agricultural product marketing, such as Kansas City or Chicago.

TEST WEIGHT (TW) A factor in grading of grain. TW is the weight of the quantity of grain required to fill completely a Winchester bushel. Minimum pounds per bushel are established in the U.S. grain standards for the various numerical sample grades.

TICKER TAPE A stock or commodity quotation system.

TO ARRIVE (1) Price is based on delivery at the destination point, and the seller pays the freight in shipping it to that point; (2) grain contracted for delivery to a designated destination that is either in transit or not yet shipped.

TRACK, TRACK COUNTRY STATION Usually involves a price designation; indicates the cost of a given commodity loaded in rail car and ready for shipment from an interior location.

TRADING LIMIT In virtually all North American commodity contract markets there is a maximum price change permitted for a single session. These limits vary in the different markets. After prices have advanced or declined to the permissible daily limits, the trading automatically ceases unless, of course, offers appear at the permissible upper trading limit or bids appear at the permissible lower limit.

TRANSFER To move grain from one location in an elevator to another, also called turning; will blend off uneven areas, disperse hot spots, and insect activity, dispel areas of high humidity and accumulated odors.

TRANSFERABLE NOTICE OR DELIVERY NOTICE A written announcement issued by a seller signifying his intention of making delivery in fulfillment of a *Futures Contract*. The recipient of the notice may make a sale of the future and transfer the notice within a specified time to another party, on some exchanges directly and on others through the clearing association.

TRANSIT Application of through-freight rates to a shipment stopped at a point intermediate to final destination for storage and/or milling and processing.

TRANSLOCATION Movement of moisture through grain.

UNDERSUPPLY A situation in which demand for a commodity exceeds physical stocks offered for sale in the market; result is usually seen in rising prices. See *Oversupply*.

UNPRICED TRADES No flat price is established at the time of the trade—only the basis level is agreed to by the buyer and seller.

USDA United States Department of Agriculture.

UNPRICED TRADES No flat price is established at the time of the trade—only the basis level is agreed to by the buyer and seller.

VARIATION MARGIN CALL A request for additional margin funds as collateral, occasioned by negative price movement against the held position.

VISIBLE SUPPLY The amount of a particular commodity in store at loading centers; in the grain markets, the total stock of grain in store, in public and some private elevators, in the principal primary markets, plus certain stock *Afloat*.

VOLUME OF TRADING The purchases and sales of a commodity during a specified period. Inasmuch as purchases equal sales, only one side is shown in published reports.

WAREHOUSE RECEIPT A document evidencing possession by a warehouseman (licensed under the U.S. Warehouse Act or under the laws of a state) of the commodity named in the receipt. Warehouse receipts, to be tenderable on future contracts, must be negotiable receipts covering commodities in warehouses rec-

ognized for delivery purposes by the exchange on which such futures contracts are traded.

WASH SALES Fictitious transactions contrived by two or more brokers in order to create a market price for a security or for tax evasion. It may also consist of two or more outside operators who match their orders for purchase and sale so that a seeming market activity is given to stock. Illegal and prohibited by law and by the exchanges. Tax law usually considers a repurchase within 30 days at a loss to be a wash sale. In commodity futures, contracts left open after the last day of trading may be settled by wash sales in lieu of delivery.

WIRE HOUSE Refers to a *Commission House* with branch offices connected by telephone, teletype, telegraph or cable.

Notes

1. Frontier Entrepreneur (pp. 3-64)

1. "Life . . . rosecate," Edwin C. Bailey, *Past and Present of Winneshiek County, Iowa* (Chicago: S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1913), p. 203. There is no documentation of the precise date of W. W. Cargill's arrival in Conover; a lengthy article in the *La Crosse Republican & Leader*, October 23, 1880, on the "Past and Present of the Cargill Brothers," which presumably was written from personal information supplied by W. W., confirms the 1863 date and his location in Conover.

2. For pre-Civil War history of the McGregor railroad efforts, see Realtor E. Price (ed.), *History of Clayton County Iowa* (Chicago: Robert O. Law Company, 1916), vol. 1, pp. 176-77. The Minnesota Western Rail Road Company became part of the Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co. in 1867, the latter later to be part of the Chicago, Milwaukee, St. Paul and Pacific Railroad (the "Milwaukee" line). See especially August W. Derleth, *The Milwaukee Road: Its First Hundred Years* (New York: Creative Press, 1948); Appendix A gives a complete history of the Milwaukee's name changes. See also Herbert William Rice, "Early History of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company," Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1938; John W. Cary, *The Organization and History of the Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Company* (Milwaukee: Cramer, Aikens & Cramer, 1892). For the Iowa extensions, see Frank P. Donovan, "The Milwaukee in Iowa," *The Palimpsest* 45 (1964): 177; "Guide to Iowa Railroads, 1850-1872," mimeograph, 1984, State Historical Society of Iowa. On land grant use by railroads, see Robert L. Frey (ed.), "Railroads in the Nineteenth Century," *Encyclopedia of American Business History and Biography* (New York: Facts on File, 1988), p. 369; Richard C. Overton, *Burlington West: A Colonization History of the Burlington Railroad* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1941), *passim*. Quotation on "two fights," *McGregor North Iowa Times*, November 5, 1865; "gridded the midwestern states," Allen G. Bogue, *From Prairie to Corn Belt: Farming on the Illinois and Iowa Prairies in the Nineteenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1963), p. 281.

3. John L. Work, *Cargill Beginnings . . . an Account of Early Years* (privately printed, n.d. [ca. 1965]), pp. 61-62; "far . . . from tidewater," *The History of Cargill, Incorporated, 1863-1943* (Minneapolis: privately printed, 1945), p. 12; D. I. Nelke, *The Columbian Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of the Representative Men of the United States, Wisconsin Volume* (Chicago: Lewis Publishing Company, 1895), pp. 125-26. For example of advertisements about land in Wisconsin, see *New York Daily Tribune*, May 23, September 22, October 10 and 22, and December 17, 1855. A formal search for a Union army record for William Wallace Cargill was carried through in 1990 with the Military Service Branch (NNMS) of the National Archives and Records Administration, with no positive identification.

4. "Did not shell out," *Decorah (Iowa) Republic*, January 19, 1865; "boss town," Charles H. Sparks, *History of Winneshiek County, with Biographical Sketches of Its Eminent Men* (Decorah, Iowa: Jas. Alex. Leonard, 1877), p. 138; quotations from *McGregor North Iowa Times*, vol. 10, as follows: "Dan Kirwan," September 20, 1865; "young town," October 11; "lots

change hands," October 18; "Sam Conover," October 25; advertisement of "Proprietors" and "Nile" quotation, December 13; Calmar "left out," *Decorah Republic*, June 29, 1865; "on the brain," *ibid.*, November 30, 1865.

5. Discussion of Midwest varieties of wheat, Charles Byron Kuhlmann, *The Development of the Flour-Milling Industry of the United States, with Special Reference to the Industry in Minneapolis* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1929), pp. 73-78; Gilbert Fite, *The Farmers' Frontier, 1865-1900* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1966), pp. 48-49. Varietal names from Bogue, *op. cit.*, p. 127. For Chicago Board of Trade grading efforts of the 1850s, see William Cronon, *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991), pp. 104-19. The original credit ledgers of the Mercantile Agency and its successor, R. G. Dun & Co., ca. 1840-1890, are in the R. G. Dun & Co. Collection in Baker Library, Harvard Business School. For a history of credit agencies in this period, see James Madison, "The Evolution of Commercial Credit Reporting in Nineteenth Century America," *Business History Review* 48 (1974): 167. For the early history of the agency itself, see Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "God and Dun & Bradstreet, 1841-1951," *ibid.*, 40 (1966), 432. See also James D. Norris, *R. G. Dun & Co., 1841-1900*¹¹; *The Development of Credit-Reporting in the Nineteenth Century* (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1978). For Marsh & Lambert, Howard County, 261; for Marsh and Knowlton, *ibid.*, 277; comments on Bassett & Hunting, Clayton County, 259 e; Dun's comments on Joseph Reynolds, *ibid.*, 238 p. See also William J. Peterson, "The Diamond Jo Line," *The Palimpsest* 51 (April 1970): 169; Lena Meyers, "McGregor Notable, 'Diamond Jo,'" *North Iowa Times* (McGregor), May 31, 1951; quotation on "whole street of warehouses," *ibid.*, December 13, 1865; wheelbarrow story, *Cargill News*, June 1951. For selling alternatives for farmers, see Henrietta M. Larson, "The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900," *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law*, 122, (2, Whole No. 269) 1926 (reprinted New York: AMS Press, 1969), p. 184; Morton Rothstein, untitled history of the grain trade in the 19th century, unpublished MS, chaps. 6, 10; G. W. Schatzel, "Among the Wheat-Fields of Minnesota," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 36 (1868): 190, for early hedging, "The Rejection and Acceptance of a Marketing Innovation: Hedging in the Late 19th Century," *Review of Research in Futures Markets* 2 (1983): 201; "hedge or sell all," Kenneth D. Ruble, *The Peavey Story* (Minneapolis: Peavey Co., 1963), p. 18.

6. For credit correspondent entries on Conover, see R. G. Dun & Co., *op. cit.*, Winneshiek County, 16, 17, 18, 32, 71, 79, 80, 85, 86, 89, 111, 146, 203. For entries on W. A. Stowell and his partners, *ibid.*, 21, 79, 120. Biographical information on Stowell from John Work, *Cargill Beginnings*, *op. cit.*, pp. 84-85. Quotation on Ossian from James T. Hair (ed.), *Iowa State Gazetteer* (Chicago: Bailey & Hair, 1865), p. 391. See also C. C. Cornell, *The History of Ossian and Military Township, 1858-1974: a chronological account of the first hundred years of this town's existence interspersed with tales of its people* (Decorah, Iowa: Anundsen Publishing Co., 1984).

7. The story of Conover's demise is told variously in John Clifford Eichorn, *Calmar: Cradled by the Gods!, 1850-1950*, Decorah, Iowa: Posten Press, 1950; "Calmar Is Winner," *Telegraph-Herald* (Dubuque, Iowa), December 5, 1943; for early history of Cresco, see *Cresco Times*, January 19, 1949; for City Hotel fire, *Decorah Republic* [an], December 20, 1867; for Lime Springs history, see *ibid.*, October 1, 1912, and the *Courier* (Waterloo, Iowa), May 28, 1933. Construction costs from Cecil Cook, *Marquette: The Biography of an Iowa Railroad Town* (Des Moines, Iowa: Waukon & Mississippi Press, 1975), p. 28; on land grant requirements, *ibid.*, p. 29; "sleeping on cots," John Work, *Cargill Beginnings* . . . , *op. cit.*, p. 79. The sale of the Stowell business to H. C. Marsh later became the subject of a court case in the District Court of Winneshiek County (W326:453, October 1867).

8. Credit correspondent entries on Cresco, R. G. Dun & Co., *op. cit.*, Howard County, 242, 244, 245, 250, 255-58, 260, 262, 264, 268, 269, 270, 300, 321. Entries on Purdy & Hatchette, *ibid.*, 252-60; *Cresco Times*, January 30 and May 14, 1868.

9. "Three . . . businessmen," *Cresco Times*, April 30, 1868; "target shooters," *ibid.*, July 23, 1868; "skedaddled," *ibid.*, December 19, 1867; baseball game, *ibid.*, April 23, 1868; Conover trip, *ibid.*, July 11 and 18, September 21, 1867.

10. Population migration figures from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970*, Part 1, chaps. A and C (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1975); growth of "West North Central" states, Fred A. Shannon, *The Farmer's Last Frontier: Agriculture, 1860-1897* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1945), pp. 36-

39; on Iowa migration, William L. Harter and R. E. Stewart, *The Population of Iowa: Its Composition and Changes*, Iowa State College of Agriculture and Mechanical Arts Bulletin 273, Ames, Iowa, 1930; description of barging across Mississippi River, August Derleth, *The Milwaukee Road*, *op. cit.*, p. 113.

11. "Hop, step and jump," *Iowa State Agriculture Society Report*, 1865 (Des Moines, 1866), p. 413; on agricultural technology, see Wayne G. Brocht, Jr., *John Deere's Company: A History of Deere & Company and Its Times* (New York: Doubleday & Co., 1984); Robert L. Ardrey, *American Agricultural Implements: A Review of Invention and Development in the Agricultural Implement Industry of the United States*, 1894 (reprinted, New York: Arno Press, 1972); Leo Rogin, *The Introduction of Farm Machinery in Its Relation to the Productivity of Labor in the Agriculture of the United States During the Nineteenth Century*, 1931 (reprinted New York: Johnson Reprint Corp., 1966); Clarence H. Danhof, *Change in Agriculture: The Northern United States, 1820-1870* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1969).

12. United States wheat production from U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Historical Statistics of the United States*, *op. cit.*, pp. 512-13; Beadle and Skee warehouse description, *Cresco Times*, March 6, 1867; "trust in Providence," *ibid.*, May 30, 1867; "ahead of all," *ibid.*, February 20, 1868; for agricultural conditions in Iowa and southern Minnesota during the decade after the Civil War, see Mildred Throne, "'Book Farming' in Iowa, 1840-1870," *Iowa Journal of History* 49 (1951): 117, and *ibid.*, "A History of Agriculture in Southern Iowa, 1833-1890," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, State University of Iowa, 1946; Edward Van Dyke Robinson, "Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota," University of Minnesota, *Studies in the Social Sciences* 3, (March 1915); Beadle & Skee warehouse, *Cresco Times*, October 6, 1867; "the North Pole," *ibid.*, October 10, 1867; on marriage of Will Cargill and Ellen Stowell, news article on "death of Mrs. Ella T. Cargill," *Cargill Archives* (CA) 34-04; grain shipments, *ibid.*, October 6, 1867, and February 20, 1868; Marsh & Cargill warehouse at Lime Springs, *ibid.*, September 5 and November 14, 1867; Lime Springs lumber business, *ibid.*, March 20, October 17, and November 21, 1867; railroad construction data, August Derleth, *The Milwaukee Road*, *op. cit.*, pp. 288-90; "lots of lumber," *Cresco Times*, April 2, 1868; Dun's report on B. J. Van Valkenburgh, Mower County 231; origin of Cresco name, *Cresco Times*, November 30, 1937; "blind horse," Diedrick Jenk to H. Robert Diercks, undated (ca. February 1965), John Work MS.

13. Biography of Sylvester Smith Cargill in R. I. Holcombe, and William H. Bingham, *Compendium of History and Biography of Minneapolis and Hennepin County, Minnesota*, (Chicago: Henry Taylor & Co., 1914), vol. 2, pp. 335-36; Account Book, W. W. Cargill, 1875-1884, CA Oversize

14. "Have not seen Sam," W. W. Cargill to "my dear parents," n.d. (ca. 1871), CA, John Work MS (W. D. MacMillan); for the Minnesota railroad construction, see John C. Luecke, *Dreams, Disasters and Demise: The Milwaukee Road in Minnesota* (Eagan, Minn.: Grenadier Publications, 1988); "Freeborn County coroner," L. W. Spicer to Cargill MacMillan, October 27, 1945, CA 54-03 (reprinted in *Cargill News*, November 1945); "all over the baby," W. A. Stowell to W. W. Cargill, October 3, 1871, CA 34-04; "since burned," Charles S. Bryant, *History of Freeborn County, Minnesota, Including Explorers and Pioneers of Minnesota and Outline History of the State of Minnesota by Reverend Edward D. Neill* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Company, 1882), p. 369; on W. W. Cargill well, *ibid.*, p. 270.

15. Bassett & Hunting office property in Albert Lea, lease agreement, August 15, 1873, CA W. W. Cargill I, Leases and Deeds; in *Hyde, Cargill & Co. v. Foster O. Hagen*, Case #305, Freeborn County District Court, April 19, 1877, the complaint lists William T. Hunting, J. T. Bassett, Joseph Reynolds, and B. J. Van Valkenburgh as co-partners with S. G. Hyde and W. W. Cargill; example of letterhead, "Articles of Agreement" with P. C. Johnson, March 23, 1874, CA "Exhibit"; for example of W. W. and S. D. Cargill relationship, see "Whalen Mill" contract, W. W. Cargill II, Leases and Deeds; *ibid.* I and II for other property deeds; "all excepting \$200," agreement with B. J. McGinnis, October 26, 1871, CA Leases and Deeds I; agreement with Duzella M. Flowers, n.d. (ca. 1872), *ibid.*; "fat cattle" story in *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea), April 30, 1874; "good nature," *ibid.*, May 14, 1874; remarks on J. M. Flowers, R. G. Dun & Co., Mower County, 231; on Hyde, Cargill & Co., *ibid.* 48; on W. W. Cargill, *ibid.*, 37; on the hog butchering contract with J. Edward, n.d., March 1874, CA Leases and Deeds I; Mankato Operations, *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea), June 15, 1876.

16. Jason Clark Easton papers, Library and Archives Division, Minnesota Historical So-

society; biography of Easton in *United States Biographical Dictionary and Portrait Gallery of Eminent and Self-Made Men*, Minnesota volume (New York: American Biographical Publishing Company, 1879), pp. 326-31; the key case against Easton was *Louis Grieser v. Charles McIlrath*, Receiver of the Southern Minnesota Railroad, Minnesota Executive Documents, 1877, ii, 340; see also *La Crosse Republican and Leader*, March 14 and 28 and April 11, 1874; "money Lord," *ibid.*, February 10, 1877; "eligible as director," J. C. Easton to W. W. Cargill, November 1, 1875, Easton papers, Box 83, 6.A.9, 3B; "lambs to slaughter," Easton to Cargill, July 15, 1876, CA Leases and Deeds I; Robert Eliot papers, Archives Division, State Historical Society of Wisconsin, Milwaukee; for biography of Eliot, see James S. Buck, *Pioneer History of Milwaukee from the First American Settlements in 1833 to 1841*, vol. 1 (Milwaukee: Milwaukee News Company, 1876), pp. 96-98, 1154; *The History of Cargill, Incorporated, 1865-1945*, op. cit., p. 14; Dun credit correspondent comments on Eliot, R. G. Dun & Co., op. cit., Wisconsin 36:145 and 38:158; "Cost of Cresco Elevator," Leases and Deeds II; on Jason Easton over-charges and B. J. Van Valkenburgh suit, *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea), March 26, 1874; W. W. Cargill suit, *ibid.*, September 10, 1874; Minnesota Senate Journal, 1874, pp. 553-65; the case was tried in Freeborn County District Court, Nos. 737 and 740, April 1874, Minnesota Historical Society, 62B, 63B.

17. For "Balance, W. D. Cargill," see CA, WWC III; W. W. Cargill note to W. D. Cargill, September 1, 1877, *ibid.*; on W. D. Cargill contribution to Janesville church, John Work, *Cargill Beginnings*, op. cit., p. 90; insurance agreement, W. W. Cargill and Josiah Thompson, Jr., June 26, 1873, CA W. W. Cargill I, Leases and Agreements.

18. Josephine Barry Donovan, "Grasshopper Times," *Palimpsest* 4:194 (reprinted in Annette Atkins, *Harvest of Grief: Grasshopper Plagues and Public Assistance in Minnesota 1873-78* [St. Paul: Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1984]), p. 17; Edward Van Dyke Robinson, "Early Economic Conditions and the Development of Agriculture in Minnesota," op. cit. pp. 75-77; on wagon trains, *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea), June 5, 1873, and June 4, 1874; on collecting grasshoppers, *ibid.* June 10, 1873; on natural enemies, see "The Grasshopper Scourge of the 70's," scrapbook, "Minutes of the Pioneer Society," Freeborn County Historical Society, Albert Lea, Minnesota.

19. Henrietta Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota*, op. cit., pp. 84-85, 111; "on the square," *Cresco Times*, October 24, 1867; "oppression and greedy gain," *Freeborn County Standard*, July 24, 1873; on development of the Grange, Edward W. Martin (James D. McCabe, Jr.), *The History of the Grange Movement* (Chicago: National Publishing Company, 1874); Solon Justus Buck, *The Granger Movement: A Study of Agricultural Organization and Its Political Economic and Social Manifestations, 1870-1880* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1913); "Granger tornado," testimony of Robert Eliot before Cullom Committee, *Report of the Senate Select Committee on Interstate Commerce*, Senate Report 46 (49th Cong., 1st Sess.; 1886), Part 2, p. 695; testimony on the "wheat ring," *Report of the Special Joint Railroad Investigating Committee to the Legislature of the State of Minnesota*, Thirteenth Session (St. Paul, Minn.: Press Printing Company, 1871), pp. 118, 144-47, 151, 167, 171; on "brass kettle," Martin W. Odland, "The History of the Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission," typescript, Minnesota Historical Society, 1944, pp. 17-20; "lying little kettle," Martin Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly: The Portrait of a Politician* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1962), p. 183; "dangerous . . . as a porcupine," *Litchfield News-Ledger*, quoted in the *Anti-Monopolist* (St. Paul), September 13, 1874.

20. For early history of Wisconsin railroad legislation, see Herbert William Rice, "Early History of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company," op. cit., chap. 9; the Potter Law is discussed here, and in August Derleth, the *Milwaukee Road . . .*, op. cit., chap. 5. See also John W. Cary, *The Organization and History of the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul Railway Company*, op. cit. pp. 200-207. "Considerable excitement," *New York Times*, April 28, 1874; see also *ibid.*, April 30 and May 4, 1874. The Wisconsin Supreme Court case, *ibid.*, September 16, 1874. La Crosse letter-writer reactions, *Republican and Leader* (La Crosse), May 2, 1874; *Munn v. Illinois*, 94 U.S. 113 (1877); the long haul-short haul case was *Wabash, St. Louis & Pacific Railroad Company v. Illinois*, 118 U.S. 57 (1866); see also *Dartmouth College v. Woodward*, 4 Wheat. 518 (1819). For railroad legal efforts in Wisconsin, Robert S. Hunt, *Law and Locomotives: The Impact of the Railroad on Wisconsin Law in the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1958); Stanley P. Caine, *The Myth of a Progressive Reform: Railroad Regulation in Wisconsin, 1903-1910*, *ibid.*, 1970.

21. Martin W. Odland, "The History of the Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission," op. cit., pp. 28-33 (quotation from p. 32).

22. "Sorry to lose," *Freeborn County Standard* (Albert Lea), April 17, 1875; "men of pluck," W. Duncan MacMillan, with Patricia Condon Johnston, *MacGillivrae* (Wayzata, Minn.: privately printed, 1990), p. 145; on Cargill Science Hall at Albert Lea College, see *Bulletin of The Albert Lea College* 8 (December 1914), pp. 9-10; census figures, *Republican and Leader* (La Crosse), July 10, 1875; "largest cities," *ibid.*, June 12, 1875; on grain trade of La Crosse, *ibid.*, October 14, 1876; for "local" items, *ibid.*, August 12, 19, 26, and September 2, 9, 16, and 23, 1876.

23. The R. G. Dun & Co. opened a branch office in La Crosse in 1876, this is described in *Republican and Leader* (La Crosse), February 12 and 26, 1876; Credit correspondent on Hodges & Hyde, R. G. Dun & Co., op. cit., Wisconsin 29: 238, 33 and 255; on W. W. Cargill & Bro., *ibid.*, Wisconsin 30: 446, "did not seriously compete," Henrietta Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota*, op. cit., p. 140, "hot wheat," *Republican and Leader*, June 17 and July 1, 1876; "buy Chicago," W. Duncan MacMillan, *MacGillivrae*, op. cit., p. 150; partnership percentages, J. H. Ellsworth memorandum, November 15, 1878, CA Leases and Deeds I; "would have done it," H. D. Brown to W. W. Cargill, June 28, 1876, *ibid.*; "fault I found," John Kaercher to Hyde, Cargill, January 28, 1877, *ibid.*; "poorly drawn," S. D. Abbott to Hyde, Cargill, November 16, 1876, Leases and Deeds II; "heard nothing from you," E. N. Oshman to G. W. Sawyer, September 9, 1874, Easton papers, op. cit., Letterbook 14, 6.A.2.4F; "neglected to leave," *ibid.*; "except on orders," J. C. Easton to "G.W.S." [George W. Sawyer], September 8, 1874, *ibid.*; "insist," Easton to his Lanesboro bank, August 22, 1874, *ibid.*; on handwriting, *Cargill News*, February 1944.

24. "Make reports," contract with Downing Bros., July 7, 1875, CA Leases and Deeds II; another partnership, Cargill & King, dealt in cattle, hogs, wool, and hops, *La Crosse Chronicle*, September 23, 1879; "not make more favorable," C. M. Lovell to Hyde, Cargill, January 2, 1875, Leases and Deeds I; on rebates, unsigned memorandum, Southern Minnesota Railroad, April 25, 1875, *ibid.*; Liverpool wheat sale, Henrietta Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer*, op. cit., p. 141, quoting *Press* (Minn.) *Republican*, June 22, 1878; on New York City terminals, *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper* 45 (November 10, 1875): 153; 48 (April 5, 1878): 76; and 50 (April 24, 1880): 121; "wealthy . . . dealers," testimony of Robert Eliot before Cullom Committee, *Report of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce*, op. cit., p. 692; "law, loan & collection," Eugene E. Snow to Hyde, Cargill, December 13, 1876, Leases and Deeds I; "no stone unturned," Hyde, Cargill to T. Eaton, September 9, 1876, *ibid.*; "two spring colts," John R. D.—[handwriting unclear], n.d. (ca. April 1874), *ibid.*

25. "Deadbeat," R. T. Glover to W. W. Cargill & Bro., January 26, 1880, CA, Leases and Deeds I; "sue him," W. W. Cargill to C. R. Tubbs, December 31, 1879, *ibid.*, "skipped the country," C. E. Wenzel to Cargill & Van, February 19, 1880, *ibid.*; "dishonest wife," E. B. Clark to "Friend Cargill," March 6, 1882, Leases and Deeds II.

26. Cleaning elevator, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway to W. W. Cargill & Bro., August 28, September 10, and December 8, 1880, CA Leases and Deeds I; patent right on "cockle machine," agreement of Edward P. Allis and Hyde, Cargill, May 6, 1876, *ibid.*; for grain distributor, agreement of Charles S. Hamilton and "Cargill & Brother," October 4, 1880, *ibid.*, II, on seed experimentation, W. Duncan MacMillan, *MacGillivrae*, op. cit., p. 151; "contrary to our understanding," Southern Minnesota Railroad to "W. W. Cargill & Co.," October 18, 1876, Hyde, Cargill Railroad Rebates, *ibid.*; rebates listed, Cargill & Van, Green Bay office, October 31, 1880, *ibid.*

27. "Milled at Hokah," W. W. Cargill & Bro. to W. F. Davidson, May 7, 1882, Davidson (William Fuson and Family) papers, Minnesota Historical Society A.D.23; Don Gregg papers, Alpha 23, 29.H.8.3B, Crescent, Minn.; Minnesota Historical Society; Edward D. Neill, *History of Houston County, including Explorers and pioneers of Minnesota, and outline history of the state of Minnesota* (Minneapolis: Minnesota Historical Company, 1882); on Whalan fire, Northwestern Miller, December 26, 1884, June 5, 1885; the Whalan mill had another partner, a Mr. Williams; "Salt Fish Stock on Hand," n.d. (ca. 1881), CA Leases and Deeds I; for history of the Green Bay and Minnesota Railroad Company, its predecessors and successors, see Stan Mailer, *Green Bay & Western: The First 111 Years* (Edmonds, Wash.: Hundman Publishing Inc., 1989); the history of the Cargill home in La Crosse is described in *La Crosse Sunday Tribune*, February 1, 1959; see also "W. W. Cargill," box 303, Freeborn County Historical

Society, Albert Lea; "quiet enjoyment," *Republican and Leader* (La Crosse), October 23, 1880; "out of health," *La Crosse Chronicle*, August 18, 1881. For quotation on Green Bay terminal and tug, A. T. Andreas (prop.) *History of Northern Wisconsin* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1881), p. 120; on telephone, *La Crosse Chronicle*, July 31, 1879.

28. On "Mule Farm," see *Martin County Sentinel* (Minnesota), June 27, October 24, November 14, 1879; fire, *ibid.*, November 21, 1879; "lavish hand," *ibid.*, July 10, 1885; "hard on 'old Harry,'" *ibid.*, July 17, 1885; on sale of farm, *ibid.*, April 9 and 30, May 14, 1886; "the more money they lost," Anna J. Larson, *Jay Township, Martin County, Minnesota: An Historical Narrative Prepared for Martin County Historical Society* (Fairmont, Minn.: Sentinel Publishing Company, 1931), p. 7; termination of Cargill & Van partnership, agreement of June 9, 1882, between W. W. Cargill and B. J. Van Valkenburgh, *Leases and Deeds II*; see also John Work, *Cargill Beginnings*, op. cit., pp. 96-100.

29. "What to do with oats," L. W. Eckert to W. W. Cargill, January 6, 1879, CA *Leases and Deeds I*; "took advantage," *ibid.*, March 26, 1879; letters on Charles City farm, W. A. Stowell to W. W. Cargill, December 19, 1880, and September 6, 1882, *Leases and Deeds II*.

30. "Millers' trust," see Henrietta Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota*, op. cit., pp. 91-92, 155-56; Martin Odland, "History of Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission," op. cit., pp. 18-25; for early development of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce [grain exchange], see Horace B. Hudson, *A Half Century of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis: Hudson Publishing Company, 1908), pp. 353-61; Joseph Stipanovich, *City of Lakes: An Illustrated History of Minneapolis* (Woodland Hills, Calif., Windsor Publishing, 1982), pp. 89-92; on "new process" milling, Charles Byron Kuhlmann, *The Development of the Flour Milling Industry in the United States*, op. cit., pp. 115-20.

31. Obituary, James Flett Cargill, unnamed newspaper, ca. 1917, CA 34-04; J. F. Cargill organization, General Ledgers A (1883) and B (1884), CA *Oversize*; "Wheat Ledger Balances," Wahpeton, Dak., August 20, 1884, CA *ibid.* on cribbed elevators, Milo S. Ketchum, *The Design of Walls, Bins and Grain Elevators* (New York: Engineering News Publishing Co., 1907), pp. 227-28; on simultaneous "invention of the steel plow," Wayne G. Broehl, Jr., *John Deere's Company*, op. cit., pp. 44-46; *Annual Report of the Railroad and Warehouse Commissioners of Minnesota, for the Year Ending June 30, 1886* (St. Paul: Pioneer Press Company, 1886); listing also in *Saint Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer Press* (St. Paul), December 12, 1885.

32. "Biography sketch by George Colt Bagley," n.d. (ca. 1945), MS collection Ralph Bagley, pp. 9, 15-16, 19, 24, 29; see also Horace B. Hudson, *A Half Century of Minneapolis*, op. cit., p. 364; John Work, *Cargill Beginnings*, op. cit., p. 95; Marion Daniel Shutter, *History of Minneapolis* (Minneapolis: S. J. Clarke, 1923). On George W. Van Dusen history, see Henrietta M. Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900*, op. cit., pp. 86-87, 136-41; "History of Van Dusen-Harrington Company," Peavey Company MS collection, Minnesota Historical Society, 15 E 2 4 F (Box 50).

33. Termination of J. F. Cargill role in agreement with W. W. Cargill & Bro., June 17, 1887, CA, Law Department.

34. Cargill Brothers, General Ledger, August 15, 1885, to August 15, 1886, CA V4; *ibid.*, August 15, 1886, to August 15, 1887, V7; W. W. Cargill to S. D. Cargill, June 24, 1889, CA, WWC *Leases and Deeds III*, #11; "Statement of Permanent Account, Without Encumbrances," October 5, 1889, *ibid.*

2. Two Families Link (pp. 70-129)

1. The definitive history of the MacMillan family is W. Duncan MacMillan's, *MacGillivrae*, op. cit.; see also *The Industries of La Crosse, Wis.* (La Crosse, Wis.: Spicer & Bushman, 1888), p. 26; *History of La Crosse County, Wisconsin* (Chicago: Western Historical Company, 1881), pp. 462-63; for Dun correspondent quotations, R. G. Dun & Co. Collection, op. cit., Wisconsin 29:36 7/8, 238-48; 30:488, 549. The establishment of the "gas works" by Alexander and Duncan MacMillan is discussed *History of La Crosse County, Wisconsin*, op. cit., p. 830. This also lists the Holley & Borreson banking firm, which in 1883 was incorporated as the State Bank of La Crosse, with Daniel D. MacMillan as president. The latter was also president of the Black River Improvement Company, an organization of loggers and sawmill owners in the La Crosse lumbering industry. See Albert H. Sanford and H. J. Hirshheimer,

A History of La Crosse, Wisconsin 1841-1900 (La Crosse, Wisc.: La Crosse County Historical Society, 1951), pp. 160, 211.

2. The two letters to John MacMillan, Sr., from his father, dated August 10 and September 3, 1888, are in family papers under custody of W. Duncan MacMillan; on West Texas development, Jeffrey Barton, "Economic Development of the Texas Panhandle," unpublished master's thesis, North Texas State College, 1950; Frances Phillips, "Development of Agriculture in the Panhandle-Plains Region of Texas to 1920," unpublished master's thesis, West Texas State College, 1946. Additional information on the Texas business from La Crosse newspapers, 1891-1896, and from the Hixon papers, Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse branch.

3. For Texas story, see W. Duncan MacMillan, *MacGillivrae*, op. cit., pp. 216-18, 223-25, 236-37, 239-40, 242. The definitive analysis of the railroads' efforts in the Panhandle is Richard C. Overton, *Gulf to Rockies: The Heritage of the Fort Worth and Denver-Colorado and Southern Railways, 1861-1898* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1953); quotations from railroads, *ibid.*, pp. 212-13. See also S. G. Reed, *A History of the Texas Railroads, and of the Transportation Conditions Under Spain and Mexico and the Republic and the State* (Houston: St. Clair Publishing Co., 1941), chaps. 30, 31; Frederick W. Rathjen, *The Texas Panhandle Frontier* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1973), chap. 8; Donna A. Barnes, *Farmers in Rebellion: The Rise and Fall of the Southern Farmers' Alliance and People's Party in Texas* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1984), pp. 148-50. B. B. Paddock biography: Patricia Lenora Duncan, "Enterprise: B. B. Paddock and Ft. Worth—a Case Study of Late Nineteenth Century American Boosterism," unpublished master's thesis, University of Texas, Arlington, 1982. For Paddock relationships to W. W. Cargill: B. B. Paddock MS, Box GA 194, year 1898, *ibid.* his letters to both W. W. Cargill and John MacMillan, 1900-1902, CA John Work #1.

4. "Fellahs of Egypt," Henrietta Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900*, op. cit., p. 168, and *Great West*, March 14, 1890; for rate differentials from Crookston to Liverpool, *ibid.*, pp. 198-203, and *Great West*, April 11 and May 2, 1890; for mention of "Chili but not Argentina," "Message from President," Senate Ex. Doc. 161, 48th Congress, 1st Session (1884), pp. 16-17; the entry of Argentina into world markets is described in James R. Scobie, *Revolution on the Pampas: A Social History of Argentine Wheat, 1860-1910* (Austin: University of Texas Press, Institute of Latin American Studies, 1964), chap. 6; see also Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987), chaps. 1, 2; for Ignatius Donnelly view, see Martin Ridge, *Ignatius Donnelly: The Portrait of a Politician*, op. cit., chap. 17. Wheat prices in second half of 19th century: Thorstein B. Veblen, "The Price of Wheat since 1867," *Journal of Political Economy* 1 (1893): 68.

5. Comments by W. W. Cargill in "Testimony Taken by Interstate Commerce Commission October 15-November 23, 1906 in Matter of Relations of Common Carriers to the Grain Trade," Senate Doc. 278, 59th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 800-806; "highly selected," Henrietta Larson, *The Wheat Market . . .*, op. cit., p. 204.

6. On Peavey concrete elevator see Kenneth D. Ruble, *The Peavey Story*, op. cit., pp. 41-42; Frank Peavey description in his letter to John G. Massie, November 3, 1899, Peavey Company MS, Minnesota Historical Society 15.D.6.10F; on margins, Peavey to George E. Roberts, October 22, 1901, *ibid.*, see also Morton Rothstein, "Anglo-American Wheat Trade," unpublished manuscript, University of California, Davis, chap. 10; C. A. Pillsbury letter, Henrietta Larson, *The Wheat Market . . .*, op. cit., pp. 203-4. The Crédit Lyonnais letters are printed in full in *Great West*, January 23 and February 13, 1891; the mention of Cargill, *ibid.*, February 6, 1891; "options gambling," *ibid.*, March 8, July 31, and August 7, 1891. The two cases on "gambling" at the Chicago Board of Trade are *Kinsey v. Board of Trade*, 198 US 236 (1905), and *Board of Trade v. Christie Grain and Stock Company*, also 198 US 236 (1905). See Jonathan Lurie, *The Chicago Board of Trade, 1859-1905: The Dynamics of Self-Regulation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1979), pp. 185-98; and William G. Ferris, *The Grain Traders: The Story of the Chicago Board of Trade* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1988), pp. 117-30.

7. The Cargill Elevator Company charter was granted by the secretary of state for Minnesota, H. Hallom, March 18, 1890; the commencement of the corporate business was stated there to be April 1, 1890, with the duration of the corporation 30 years. In the minutes of the corporation for its first meeting, April 1, 1890, the 71 country terminals and 28 coal sheds

were listed. The W. W. Cargill Company charter was granted by the secretary of state for Wisconsin, T. D. Cunningham, July 28, 1892; its first meeting was held July 30, 1892. See *The History of Cargill, Inc., 1865-1945*, op. cit. p. 18, and Cargill Elevator Co. 1890 *Minute Book*, pp. 11-14. The *LaCrosse Chronicle*, December 11, 1899, notes the formation of both companies and lists their capital. An enigmatic comment ends this article: "An option is out on the Minneapolis line but it will soon expire and Mr. Cargill does not expect or desire to hear from it again." Building of Duluth terminal, *ibid.*, p. 25; hedging, S. D. Cargill to Jones & Brinker, October 28, 1891, CA Deeds and Documents I; on blockade, *ibid.*, October 19, 1891, for Soo land project, see particularly, "Articles of Association of the Soo Land Company, Ltd.," 1895, CA Deeds and Documents III; J. M. Burton to John MacMillan, Sr., December 23, 1926, CA 35-10; C. A. Wheelock to Cargill MacMillan, September 23, 1929, *ibid.*

8. "Self-delusive as to the profits," Robert Eliot to W. W. Cargill, December 26, 1894. CA 34-03; quotations from *Fort Worth Gazette*, W. Duncan MacMillan, *MacGillenbaul*, op. cit.

9. The five letters of John MacMillan, Sr. to Edna MacMillan, dated December 19, 1893, January 14 and 16, 1893, and September 7 and 9, 1896, are all in the family papers under custody of W. Duncan MacMillan; Panhandle agriculture in the drought, Garry L. Nall, "The Farmers' Frontier in the Texas Panhandle," *Panhandle-Plains Historical Review* 45 (1972): 1; Roy Sylvan Dunn, "Drought in West Texas, 1890-1894," *West Texas Historical Association Year Book*, 37 (October 1961): 121; grasshoppers, Frances Phillips, "Development of Agriculture in the Panhandle . . .," op. cit., p. 20; on nervous breakdowns, Dr. W. W. Young file 21283 BUI, January 22, 1932, CA 34-05.

10. Original document in Register of Deeds Office, La Crosse County Courthouse, dated December 1, 1896 (Book 93, pp. 224-29); "dry, hot winds," Richard Overton, *Gulf to Rockies* . . ., op. cit., p. 347.

11. Quotations from *Leslie's Illustrated Weekly*, issue of January 6, 1898. The classic analysis of P. D. Armour is in Harper Leech and John Charles Carroll, *Armour and His Times* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company, 1938). The story of the Hutchinson corner of the wheat market in 1888 is contained in chap. 14; the quotation here is from p. 262. The "Leiter Corner" is in Chapter 17, appropriately titled "Lochinvar Ensnared." Morton Rothstein quotation from "Frank Norris and Popular Perceptions of the Market," *Agricultural History* 56 (January 1982): p. 58. William Cronon quotation from *Nature's Metropolis*, op. cit., p. 125. The William Jennings Bryan story is recounted in James E. Boyle, *Speculation and the Board of Trade* (New York: Macmillan, 1921), p. 69. "Faithful in discharging . . . duty," Daniel MacMillan to John MacMillan, March 22, 1899; on "banker's pitiless stare," *ibid.*, March 28, 1903; Lubbock, Texas, farm, W. D. MacMillan to John MacMillan, Sr., January 14, February 1, March 2, and September 26, 1900; May 30, 1901; January 1 and 14, February 6, 1902; April 3, 1903; CA, John Work box, Sawyer & Austin files. Quotation on William D. MacMillan graduation in his letter to John St., dated August 2, 1908, CA 35-03. Fort Worth University was later amalgamated with an Oklahoma institution, Methodist Episcopal University.

12. The 1893 "country warehouse" statute was Minn. Gen. Laws 1893, ch. 28, the 1895 statute was *ibid.*, 1895, ch. 148. The State of Minnesota Supreme Court decision was 77 Minn. 223 (79 N.W. 962); the U.S. Supreme Court case was 180 U.S. 452, decided March 5, 1901. "Cleveland luck," Ralph Whelan to Sam Cargill, July 12, 1899, CA Law Department, McGroarty papers. See also Martin W. Odland, "The History of the Minnesota Railroad and Warehouse Commission," op. cit., pp. 43-45.

13. W. W. Cargill on crop prospects, *Republican and Leader* (LaCrosse), June 13, 1898; sale of *Morning Chronicle*, "Articles of Incorporation, Chronicle Publishing Company," October 6, 1899, CA, W. W. Cargill I, *Morning Chronicle*; Ellis B. Usher to Chronicle Publishing Company, *ibid.*; E. H. Hoffman, "Curbstone Pickings," March 21, 1938, newspaper file, La Crosse Public Library.

14. Quotation on wall eye, *The History of Cargill, Incorporated*, op. cit., pp. 23-24; salaries from Cargill Elevator Company General Ledger, August 15, 1899-August 15, 1900, CA Over-size Shelf; quotation on Sam Cargill from *History of Cargill, Incorporated, 1865-1945*, op. cit., p. 23; "cost us \$50,000," *Minneapolis Journal*, June 27, 1900. On Leiter corner, S. D. Cargill to B. L. Jones, January 7, 1899, CA John Work 1; on barley dispute, S. D. Cargill to I. Blumenthal, September 11, 1897, Chicago Board of Trade Archives, University of Illinois, Chicago campus, AAA, folder 22; Morton Rothstein, "Anglo-American Wheat Trade," op. cit., p. 459.

15. See, especially, Sawyer & Austin stock certificate book, Corporate Secretary Office, Cargill, Incorporated; *History of Cargill, Incorporated, 1865-1945*, pp. 30-31.

16. John MacMillan, Sr., to Edna MacMillan, July 15, 1900, family papers in custody of W. Duncan MacMillan.

17. W. W. Cargill plans for Pine Bluff, his letter to S. W. Anderson, June 11, 1901, CA John Work 1; "stuff at Green Bay," *ibid.*, June 4, 1900; "one horse," *ibid.*, June 5, 1900; "scary time," *ibid.*, August 6, 1900; "will all work out," *ibid.*, September 21, 1900; "banks that won't interfere," *ibid.*, September 22, 1900; "will show up," *ibid.*, February 9, 1901; "turned down," *ibid.*; "on velvet," *ibid.*, February 27, 1901; warnings from Sam Cargill in his letters of December 12 and 16, 1901, *ibid.*; "Sam and Mr. Eliot . . . opposed," *ibid.*, September 23, 1900; "divided up," *ibid.*, September 26, 1901; "whisky," *ibid.*, December 7, 1900; "niggers," *ibid.*, September 22, 1900; examples of forgetfulness, September 23, 1900, and June 15, September 12 and 30, 1901; Robert Eliot comment in his letter to W. W. Cargill, December 7, 1902; incident of safe, W. W. Cargill to John MacMillan, Sr., December 3 and 7, 1900, *ibid.*; on gold mining stock, September 21 and 25, 1902, *ibid.*; rebate, see D. H. Kendall to W. S. Cargill and John MacMillan, Sr., March 24, 1908, CA 76-001 (temp).

18. S. D. Cargill death, *La Crosse Daily Press*, March 16, 1903; the development of the gas and electric companies of La Crosse is summarized in La Crosse Public Library Archives, memorandum of May 17, 1948, and in "Change of Rates for Electric Current, as Ordered for the La Crosse Gas and Electric Co. by the Railroad Commission of Wisconsin," September 19, 1907, *ibid.*; accident with bicycle, *La Crosse Tribune*, June 29, July 1 and 2, 1904; see also August 23 and 24 and August 31, 1904, for other incidents involving Will Cargill's automobile; "weatherbrained snobs," *ibid.*, September 1, 1904; "W. W. Cargill was an esteemed man," *ibid.*, July 10, 1905. Quotations on Will Cargill from *History of Cargill, Incorporated, 1865-1945*, op. cit., pp. 41, 43; for W. W. Cargill stroke, see *ibid.*, p. 41; Ellen Cargill to John and Edna MacMillan, March 23, 1904, and Ellen Cargill to Edna MacMillan, ca. April 1904, manuscript collection, W. Duncan MacMillan.

19. On Hoople, *History of Cargill, Incorporated 1865-1945*, p. 35; *Cargill News*, December 1935 and June 1943.

20. Precise financial details of the Thorpe Elevator Company acquisition are no longer extant. The Thorpe corporate minute book does not record the sale per se; at the meeting of September 20, 1904, two Thorpes, Garret L. and Charles, went off the board of directors, and John MacMillan, Sr., became president; E. L. Matthews, vice president; and D. D. MacMillan, secretary-treasurer (at the meeting of November 2, 1904). The Thorpe minutes apparently continue only to the meeting of October 19, 1906; the organization became a subsidiary of Cargill Elevator Company at this time.

21. For Spencer dispute, see *Cargill Elevator Company v. Spencer Grain Company*, Hennepin County District Court, case 99030, filed August 27, 1906; on Elevator T in early days, anonymous chronology, ca. 1937, CA 38-04.

22. The Superior Terminal Elevator Company was incorporated on February 20, 1893, with its legal office at Superior, Wisconsin; W. W. Cargill held 3,330 shares; S. D. Cargill, 1,660. The early records of the Cargill Commission Company of Duluth are no longer extant. There is a short biographical sketch of Frederick E. Landahl in *Cargill News*, July 1940; his obituary is given in the March 1945 issue. See *Cargill News*, January 1938, for obituary of Arthur M. Prime.

23. Henrietta M. Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900*, op. cit., chaps. 7, 8. For relationship to Peavey, see *Commercial West*, July 20, 1901, p. 25; Interstate Commerce Commission, "Testimony on the Grain Trade," 59th Congress, 2nd Sess., Senate Document No. 278, p. 242. For the early advantages held by Milwaukee and Chicago in the flour milling industry, see Charles Byron Kuhlmann, *The Development of the Flour-Milling Industry in the United States, with Special Reference to the Industry in Minneapolis*, op. cit., pp. 88ff.

24. Quid pro quo, MacMillan to Lindahl, November 8, 1908, August 6, 1909, CA 12-01.

25. On competition, Lindahl to MacMillan, October 12, 1908; MacMillan to Lindahl, October 1, 1908, CA 12-01; price changes, MacMillan to H. F. Douglas, November 29, 1907, CA 21-02, on "hoggish," W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, October 1, 1909, CA 12-02.

26. Motivation of customers, Lindahl to MacMillan, August 13, 1909, and MacMillan to Lindahl, August 14, 1909, CA 12-01.

27. *History of Cargill, Incorporated, 1865-1945*, op. cit., pp. 36-37; the merchant mentality, MacMillan to A. M. Prime, January 10, 1908; Prime to MacMillan, September 16, 1907, CA 21-02; "pulled out," MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, September 19, 1908, CA 12-02; "only way . . . is to sell," Prime to MacMillan, February 3, 1927, CA 28-05; on speculative trading, T. F. Baxter to MacMillan, September 2, 1911; MacMillan to Baxter, September 12, 1911, CA 20-01, "B"; see also James S. Schonberg, *The Grain Trade: How It Works* (New York: Exposition Press, 1956), p. 72.

28. Lindahl to MacMillan, November 23, 1908, CA 12-01. MacMillan to Lindahl, January 6, 1909, CA 12-01. The History of the Duluth-Superior grain market is described in some detail in *Report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Grain Trade* 2 (September 15, 1920): 153-58.

29. Disappointment, MacMillan to Lindahl, March 6, 1909, *ibid.*

30. Declining market, Lindahl to MacMillan, February 4, 1909, CA, *ibid.*

31. Hedge against durum, MacMillan to Lindahl, February 6, 1909, CA, *ibid.*; "wiggle," Lindahl to MacMillan, October 23, 1908; "be a hog," *ibid.*, November 10, 1908, CA, *ibid.*

32. Office procedures in regard to mail, Lindahl to MacMillan, September 25, 1908, *ibid.*

33. MacMillan to Lindahl, November 3, 1908, CA 12-01, and Lindahl's replies on November 6, 1908, and November 24, 1908, *ibid.* See also MacMillan to Lindahl, November 24, 1908, *ibid.*

34. MacMillan to Lindahl, January 9 and February 5, 1909, *ibid.*

35. Lindahl to MacMillan, January 7, 1909; MacMillan to Lindahl, December 5, 1908, and March 3, 1909, *ibid.*

36. *United States v. Patten*, 226 U.S. 525 (1913); see also Jerry W. Markham, *The History of Commodity Futures Trading and Its Regulation* (New York: Praeger, 1987), pp. 6, 36; *Fortune*, August 1949, pp. 81-83, 106-14; on corners, see Jonathan Lurie, *The Chicago Board of Trade, 1899-1909: The Dynamics of Self-Regulation*, op. cit., pp. 46-49, 51-55, 67-69.

37. Business to Armour, MacMillan to Lindahl, August 3, 1909, *ibid.*

38. "Stringing us," Prime to MacMillan, November 5, 1908, CA, *ibid.*; "sounds very nice," *ibid.*, November 23, 1908; on raise, *ibid.*, November 2, 1907, CA 21-02.

39. Tissue copies, MacMillan to N. C. Clark, September 22, 1908, CA 12-01. Clark's reply of September 23 notes a problem with the ink and assures MacMillan that the copies from that time forward would be "perfectly plain." Clark to MacMillan, September 23, 1908, CA 12-01; on "importance of time," MacMillan to J. C. Spencer, July 3, 1907, CA Palmer file.

40. Comparability of data, John MacMillan, Sr., to W. S. Cargill, November 20, 1908, CA 12-02.

41. Country elevator purchases, MacMillan to George Edwards, Kempton, N. Dak., October 26, 1907, CA 21-02, "E."

42. Seed loss and record keeping, John MacMillan, Sr., to W. W. Cargill, July 16 and 17, 1909, CA 12-02; "strongly prejudiced," *ibid.*, November 5, 1908; "flatfooted," MacMillan to W. S. Cargill, February 18, 1908, CA 21-02.

43. Motivation of elevator employee, Lindahl to MacMillan, November 5, 1909, CA 12-01. Layoffs, Lindahl to MacMillan, May 26, 1909, and MacMillan to Lindahl, May 27, *ibid.*; homesick employee, John MacMillan to W. S. Cargill, April 8, 1908, CA 21-02, La Crosse; "square deal," MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, September 19, 1908, CA 12-02, La Crosse.

44. Letters about loan and pen, W. E. Burnett, Pine Bluff, Ark., to John MacMillan, Sr., "July, 1911"; MacMillan to Burnett, July 31, 1911; Burnett to MacMillan, August 3 and August 8, 1911, CA 20-01, "B."

45. Exchange of correspondence over several weeks between W. T. Radford and MacMillan, August 16, 1909, October 21, 1909, CA 13-01, "R."

46. "Ashamed," John MacMillan, Sr. to W. W. Cargill, December 10, 1907, CA 21-02, La Crosse, employee paying back losses, MacMillan to F. C. Thomas, Stewartville, Minn., November 3, 1906, *ibid.*; disloyalty, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, February 3, 1908, *ibid.*

47. Secrecy, MacMillan to Taylor, July 10, 1911, CA 12-02.

48. On recommendation, MacMillan to York Lumber & Mfg. Co., January 14, 1911, CA 13-01, "XYZ."

49. MacMillan to Miss Phillips (otherwise unidentified), care of Sawyer & Austin Lumber Company, Pine Bluff, Ark., August 12, 1909, CA 13-01.

50. Members of the Jewish faith, John MacMillan, Sr., to James A. Walker, January 23, 1922, CA 24-01, "C"; James Taylor to MacMillan, September 2, 1911, CA 12-02; James Taylor to George Erickson, May 14, 1915, CA 32-10, "E"; labor union, MacMillan to D. A. Kendall, October 13, 1906, CA 21-01.

51. Incident of wife's affections, MacMillan to — (I have omitted the name), January 21, 1910, CA 13-1, file "O."

52. Donation for high school, MacMillan to Charles Nelson, Hatton, N. Dak., March 16, 1908, CA 21-02, "N."

53. The Ada, Minn., editorial, "Grain Producers Get Short End," was in the *Ada Herald* of January 19, 1908; John MacMillan, Sr., reply, to D. H. Fulton, was dated January 10, 1908, CA 21-02, F.

54. Coming to Minneapolis, MacMillan to C. H. Quackenbush, July 30, 1908, CA 12-02; moving Cargill operation from LaCrosse to Minneapolis, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, September 17, 1908, *ibid.*; open positions, MacMillan to Lindahl, October 26, 1908, CA 12-01; giving initiative, MacMillan to Taylor, September 5, 1911, 12-02 La Crosse; Clark as a trader, MacMillan to W.S. Cargill, February 19, 1908, 21-02 La Crosse.

55. For profitability, 1903-1910, see John MacMillan, Sr., to Gilbert G. Thorne, September 3, 1910, CA 13-01.

3. A Panic and Its Aftermath (pp. 131-58)

1. Quotations on W. W. Cargill personality from *History of Cargill, Incorporated, 1865-1945*, op. cit., p. 13; "aged so this winter," Ellen Cargill to Edna MacMillan, May 8, 1907, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan.

2. The Pillsbury receivership of 1908 is described in detail in William J. Powell, *Pillsbury's Best: A Company History from 1869* (Minneapolis: The Pillsbury Company, 1983), pp. 41-94; for bankruptcy laws at the end of the 19th century, see Peter J. Coleman, *Debtors and Creditors in America. Insolvency, Imprisonment for Debt, and Bankruptcy, 1807-1900* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1974); see also Don W. Larson, *Land of the Giants* (Minneapolis: Dorn Books, 1979), p. 71; "general gossip," MacMillan to Fogg Bros. & Co., August 17, 1908, CA 21-02.

3. Duluth salaries, Lindahl to John MacMillan, Sr., September 23, 1907; MacMillan to Lindahl, September 26; MacMillan to Lindahl, December 9; Lindahl to MacMillan, December 13, 1907, CA 21-02, "Duluth."

4. Weak concerns, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, September 9, 1907; efforts to obtain credit, MacMillan to A. G. Becker & Co., September 26, 1907; "things . . . too hot," Cargill to MacMillan, September 18, 1907; worries about obtaining funds, MacMillan to Cargill, October 18, 1907; Cargill's walk down the La Crosse street, October 18, 1907; the worsening money situation, MacMillan to Cargill, October 21, 1907; Batavian bank cancellation, Cargill to MacMillan, October 25, 1907; the scare in New York, Cargill to MacMillan, October 23 and 29, 1907; concerted effort of the Duluth grain operators not to buy, MacMillan to Cargill, October 29, 1907; CA 21-02.

5. Belen copper mine proposal, MacMillan to Cargill October 9, 1907, *ibid.*

6. "Work very closely," MacMillan to Walter B. Gueinzius, December 31, 1906, CA 21-01, countermarching hedging decision; Gueinzius to MacMillan, June 17 and August 27, 1907, *ibid.*, "hind rear," Dudley M. Irwin to MacMillan, December 26, 1907, CA 21-02; selling problem in Green Bay, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, November 13, 1907; problems of control at the country elevators, Cargill to MacMillan, October 29 and MacMillan to Cargill, October 30, 1907; CA, *ibid.*

7. About timberland holdings, J. B. Taylor to J. H. MacMillan, March 14, 1908, CA, *ibid.*; "only that I own," Cargill to MacMillan, March 4, 1909, CA 12-02; change of name for seed company, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, November 5, 1908, *ibid.*

8. Son's difficulties, MacMillan to Harry T. Kendall, September 4, 1907. Audit of books, *ibid.*, August 29, 1907. Accounting lacks in St. Louis, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, September 12, 1907, CA, *ibid.*

9. "Acting for the President," Cargill to MacMillan September 20, 1907; MacMillan re-

ply, September 19, 1907. Accounting system at Banner Lumber, Cargill to George W. Funck, September 20, 1907, CA 21-02; objections, Cargill to MacMillan, *ibid*.

10. Promptness, MacMillan to J. W. Spencer, November 22, 1908, CA 21-02, "S." "Lame" woods, MacMillan to Cargill, September 19, 1907, CA 21-02.

11. "Old type of businessman," MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, December 6, 1907, CA, *ibid*.

12. W. W. Cargill view of accounting, his letter to MacMillan of October 8, 1907; MacMillan concept of accounting, October 8, 1907, CA, *ibid.*; accounting practices in the first decade of the 20th century, see H. Thomas Johnson and Robert S. Kaplan, *Relevance Lost: The Rise and Fall of Management Accounting* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1987), chaps. 2, 3; Michael Chatfield, *A History of Accounting Thought*, revised edition (Huntington, N.Y.: Robert E. Krieger Publishing Co., 1977), chaps. 6, 8, 9. See also JoAnne Yates, *Control through Communication: The Rise of System in American Management* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989).

13. Bookkeeper in St. Louis, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, October 9, 1907, CA, *ibid*.

14. Funck to MacMillan, November 26, 1907, CA, *ibid.*, "up and dressed," D. A. Kendall to John Sr., November 24, 1906, CA 21-01, instructions to collectors, under Banner Lumber Co. letterhead dated October 14, 1907.

15. Comments on office stenographer, H. R. Hayden to MacMillan, October 20, 1907; information on Funck son's competitive company, *ibid.* November 10, 1907, CA 21-02.

16. Hayden to MacMillan, January 7, 1908, on effects of panic, MacMillan to Hayden, October 23, 1907; fire, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, January 7, 1908; MacMillan to Cargill, January 13, 1908, CA, *ibid*.

17. MacMillan to George W. Funck, February 18, 1908, CA, *ibid*. H. R. Hayden's new assignment was with Stout-Greer Lumber Company in Thornton, Ark.; see Hayden to MacMillan, February 23, 1908, CA 21-02.

18. "Jacking a good man up," W. S. Cargill to J. H. MacMillan, March 13, 1908; CA, *ibid*.

19. Brewer association pressure, Harry W. Rickel, president, Manufacturers and Dealers Association (Detroit), to Cargill Elevator Company, May 11, 1908, CA 21-02, M. See also MacMillan to Dudley M. Irwin, March 14, 1908, *ibid.*; MacMillan to A. M. Prime, March 19, 1908, and MacMillan to W. S. Cargill, March 14, 1908, *ibid.*, Duluth.

20. "Talk with . . . crowd," MacMillan to W. S. Cargill, March 14, 1908; W. S. Cargill report to MacMillan on his visit, "without losing temper," April 7, 1908; MacMillan on the need to gain "practical knowledge," in his letter to W. S. Cargill, June 9, 1908; W. W. Cargill, "You sort of figure it out," in his letter to MacMillan, May 25, 1908; MacMillan strategy in the negotiations for the stock, in his letter to W. W. Cargill, May 26, 1908; exhortation to W. S. Cargill about "stay right there," MacMillan to W. S. Cargill, June 9, 1908; details of sale of stock, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, August 29, 1908 All in CA 21-02, La Crosse.

21. Laying men off, MacMillan to R. M. Johnston, March 14, 1908, CA 21-02, "Johnston."

22. MacMillan to T. F. Doyle, Lowell, Mich., November 5, 1907, CA 21-02.

23. "Eastern Dutchmen" quotation, A. M. Prime to MacMillan, October 30, 1908, CA 12-01; for the effects of the German brewers on prohibition, see Richard B. Morris, *Encyclopedia of American History* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1953), p. 278.

24. Caution, MacMillan to Prime, September 4, 8, and 14, 1908; Prime to MacMillan, September 15, 1908, CA 12-01.

25. Prime sells at cost, Prime to MacMillan, September 28, 1908; MacMillan to Prime, September 29, MacMillan to Lindahl, September 29, CA, *ibid*.

26. Terminal at Buffalo, MacMillan to Lindahl, January 30 and February 1, 1909, CA, *ibid*.

27. Concerns about Armour, MacMillan to Prime, November 16, 1908; Green Bay sales and sharp letter to Irwin, Prime to MacMillan, November 19, 1908; Irwin advising low bids, Prime to MacMillan, September 12, 1908, CA, *ibid*.

28. Quotations on "Hoodoo," Prime to MacMillan, September 30, 1908; MacMillan to Prime, October 1, 1908, CA, *ibid*.

29. Irwin to Cargill Commission Company, September 28, 1908, CA, *ibid*.

30. Prime on needling machine, October 21 and October 22, 1908; MacMillan urgings

for inspection, October 21 and October 23, Prime letter to W. W. Cargill, October 16, 1908, CA, *ibid*.

31. MacMillan support, October 19, 1908, CA, 12-02; purchase of "two or three" needling machines, Prime to MacMillan, October 24 and October 27, 1908, CA, 12-01.

32. Prime to MacMillan on the warehouse difficulties, November 8, 1909, CA, *ibid*.

33. Change to Gibbs, Prime to MacMillan, October 23, 1908; "so sick" of Buffalo, October 21; "pressing effect on Irwin," October 29; difficulties in following year and continuing Irwin complaint, Prime to MacMillan, August 23 and August 23, 1909, and MacMillan to Prime, August 26 and September 10, 1909, CA, *ibid*.

34. Irwin abilities, Walter Gueinzius to W. W. Cargill, November 19, 1908; termination of Irwin, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, December 2, 1908; Cargill slippage and Irwin, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, December 6, 1908, CA 12-02.

35. Bills payable, J. B. Taylor to MacMillan, September 17, 1908; "3 o'clock and . . . go home," Cargill to MacMillan, November 11, 1908; results for the year 1908, see Lindahl to MacMillan, December 19, 1908, CA 12-01.

36. MacMillan's wish for Cargill to move to Minneapolis, September 17, 1908; Cargill equivocation, his letter to MacMillan, September 22; Security Bank relationships, Cargill to MacMillan, January 9, 1909; financial statements, J. B. Taylor to MacMillan, January 28, 1909; MacMillan to Taylor, January 29, 1909; promising Cargill Elevator banking account, Cargill to MacMillan, June 6, 1909, CA 12-02.

37. Bauxite deposits, MacMillan to Cargill, February 27, 1909; Cargill to F. W. Child, New York City, March 3, 1909, CA 12-02.

38. Lacey proposed visit to Mexico, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, September 28, 1908; MacMillan to Cargill, November 10, 1908, CA, *ibid*.

39. Mexican land, W. W. Cargill to John MacMillan, January 30, 1908, CA 21-02.

40. "Ranch proposition," MacMillan to Cargill, March 5, 1909, CA 12-02. Quotation on copper mine, MacMillan to Cargill, May 26, 1909; see also his letter of July 14, 1909, and Cargill reply on January 15, 1909, *ibid*.

41. "Rosy" Montana project, E. S. Bristol to W. W. Cargill, January 23, 1909, and Cargill to Bristol, January 25, 1909, CA 35-03; "enormous" shipments, MacMillan to Lindahl, October 12, 1908, CA 12-01; draft of bankers' letter in Will Cargill's handwriting, CA 35-03; Will Cargill plans in Montana, William S. Cargill to MacMillan, November 17, 1908; Will Cargill return to La Crosse in December, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, December 21, 1908; MacMillan view on Montana, MacMillan to W. S. Cargill, November 18, 1908.

42. "All velvet," W. W. Cargill to James F. Cargill, April 5, 1909, Hixon and Company MS, Associated Companies, B-73, Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse; spring work in Montana, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, May 4, 1909; W. W. Cargill enthusiasm, Cargill to MacMillan, August 14, 1909; C. T. Jaffray financing, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, August 13, 1909, CA 12-02.

43. Incorporating in Montana, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, August 13 and September 3, 1909, CA 12-02. See also Ralph W. Hidy et al., *The Great Northern Railway: A History* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1988).

44. "Considerable more money," W. W. Cargill to A. G. Becker & Co., August 5, 1909, CA 35-03; "contract large liabilities," Fogg Bros. & Co. to W. W. Cargill, July 22, 1909, *ibid*; firing of Gueinzius, W. W. Cargill to W. S. Cargill, July 31, 1909, CA Deeds and Documents 2; John MacMillan to W. S. Cargill, August 7, 1909, CA 12-02; playing golf in Madison, W. W. Cargill to MacMillan, August 25, 1909, *ibid*; Elevator Company capital needs, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, June 4, 1909; bills payable, J. B. Taylor to MacMillan, September 17, 1908; on W. W. Cargill assurances, his letter to MacMillan, November 11, 1908, *ibid*. William D. MacMillan to John H. MacMillan, August 2, 1908, CA 35-03.

45. Word as good as our bond, MacMillan to Prime September 10, 1909, CA 12-01.

46. Prime to MacMillan on the cold elevator, September 11, 1909, CA 12-01.

47. Treating customers courteously, MacMillan to Prime, September 18, 1909; compliments to Prime, September 18, 1909. Prime mistrust of Irwin, Prime to MacMillan, September 20, 1909, CA 12-01.

48. Irwin sample received, MacMillan to Prime, September 20, 1909; two samples requested, MacMillan to Prime, September 21, 1909, CA 12-01.

49. Stiff letter, MacMillan to Lindahl, September 24, 1909; on difficulties in Duluth, MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, July 1, 1909, CA 12-02. "Friction," MacMillan to Dudley Irwin, July 1, 1909, CA 29-01.

50. Prime is ill, Lindahl to MacMillan, September 27, CA 12-01; "lost confidence," Lindahl to MacMillan, October 1, 1909, Prime resignation, MacMillan to Prime, September 30; save Prime, MacMillan to Lindahl, *ibid.*, CA 12-01.

51. Prime meeting in letter of MacMillan to W. W. Cargill, October 12, 1909, CA 12-02; tightening up, Lindahl to MacMillan, October 9, 1909, CA 12-01.

4. W. W.'s Business Collapses (pp. 163-94)

1. See Marwick, Mitchell & Co. audit statement, dated November 1, 1909, for initial balance sheet figures; these were expanded in detail in balance sheet and supporting text, dated April 30, 1910. "Petition of Administrators for Settlement of Estate and Distribution of Assets," County Court for La Crosse, State of Wisconsin, February 29, 1912; on "sympathy . . . for Mrs. Cargill," John H. MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, February 29, 1912, CA 24-01; MacMillan note re Mrs. Cargill's negative statement in his diary, January 6, 1910, CA 41-12; see Margaret Barker to J. F. Cargill, undated (ca. January 1910), CA 35-03 for actual statement; on "heart is breaking," Ella Cargill to Edna MacMillan, December 9, 1909, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan. On Mexican unrest, John P. Harper to D. A. Kendall, July 3, 1908; Creditors' Committee (S&E, Cargill Lumber and Mexican lands) CA; "knew nothing," MacMillan to R. M. Johnston, November 11, 1909, CA 29-01.

2. New York banking, MacMillan to Gilbert C. Thorne, August 3, 1909; Thorne to MacMillan, August 9, 1909, CA 13-01; "affairs somewhat involved," MacMillan to B. F. Edwards, November 3, 1909, *ibid.* Running conservatively, MacMillan to Lindahl, October 26, 1909, CA 12-01; instructions to Prime, October 26, 1909, CA, *ibid.* Pushing the business along, Lindahl to MacMillan, October 16; "keep your nerve," Prime to MacMillan, January 14, 1910, CA, *ibid.*; Clive T. Jaffray "Reminiscences," 1956, Minnesota Historical Society, CCT, J23.

3. Cargill estate and New York bank, MacMillan to Gilbert G. Thorne, November 5; Thorne to MacMillan, November 8, 1909, CA, *ibid.* 4. Account "cleaned up," MacMillan to M. T. Shepherdson, Sioux City, Iowa, October 28, 1909, CA 12-01.

5. Undocumented news clipping of December 24, 1909, CA 35-03. The article noted that a similar policy had been written a few weeks earlier for A. C. Loring, president of the Pillsbury Flour Mills Company. The MacMillan policy was "the fourth big deal of its kind" in the city. Quotation on "butt in," Leonard K. Thompson, president, Northwestern National Life Insurance Company, to MacMillan, February 14, 1910, CA 13-02.

6. Peavey insurance plan, Don W. Larson, *Land of the Giants* op. cit., p. 71.

7. Assurances to Lindahl, MacMillan to Lindahl, November 5, 1909, CA 12-01.

8. Prime cutting loose, Lindahl to MacMillan, November 6, 1909; Prime responses to MacMillan, November 22 and November 29, 1909, CA, 12-01. "Stiff upper lip," Lindahl to MacMillan, November 11, 1909, *ibid.*

9. Employee loan, N. C. Clark to MacMillan, January 2, 1910; MacMillan to Clark, January 4, 1910, payment noted, *ibid.*, January 6, 1910, CA, 12-01.

10. "Other fellow take the loss," MacMillan to Prime, January 19, 1910. Completing treatment, MacMillan to Prime, December 22, 1909. Assurances from Prime, December 23, 1909; Buffalo temptations, MacMillan to Prime, December 24, CA, 12-01.

11. E. Naumburg & Co. to Cargill Elevator Company, February 25, 1910; the latter's reply, February 28, 1910, CA 13-01.

12. See Corporate Minute Book, Cargill Elevator Company, Vol. 1, meeting of August 9, 1910. The option date of November 1, 1909, is enumerated here; the transfers of the elevators, warehouses coal sheds, and other property were made on this latter date. The total amount of indebtedness was \$234,879.89.

13. See James Taylor to Long-Bell Lumber Co., June 2, 1911, CA 20-01; John MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, July 31, 1911, CA 24-01; MacMillan to Baxter, July 26, 1911, *ibid.*

14. "Land hunger," W. M. Wayman to MacMillan, December 14, 1909, CA 13-01. "getting to the bottom," MacMillan to Henry C. Wood, December 4, 1909, *ibid.* financial situation at Conrad Land & Water Co., W. C. Winton to C. T. Jaffray, May 28, 1910, CA 29-06;

Trowbridge & Niver bonds, J. W. Goldsbury to MacMillan, May 31, 1910, CA 13-01; progress of land sales, W. M. Wayman to MacMillan, April 6, 1910, *ibid.* "dividend," MacMillan to W. M. Wayman, February 28, 1910, and MacMillan to Ralph Whelan, March 3, 1911, *ibid.*; Chicago meeting, John MacMillan diary, March 3, 1910, *ibid.*; "bad, getting worse," telegram from Wayman to MacMillan, July 9, 1910, and letter of July 13, 1910, *ibid.*; receivership, MacMillan to Whelan, July 13, 1910, *ibid.*; text of agreement, March 3, 1910, in Hixon and Company MS, Associated Companies, B-73, Area Research Center, University of Wisconsin, La Crosse; "money . . . not considered," James T. Stanford to Ralph Whelan, February 14, 1910, *ibid.*

15. "At least \$1,000,000 profit," MacMillan to W. C. Winton, May 24, 1910, *ibid.*, shaking hands with Will Cargill, John MacMillan to Edna MacMillan, July 20, 1910, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan, Receivers' Certificates, Winton to MacMillan, July 25, 1910, Carey Board extension, John W. Wade (chairman) to Messrs Stanford and Winton (receivers), July 27, 1910, *ibid.*, "easing settlers' minds," Winton to MacMillan, July 28, 1910, *ibid.*, "putting his teams . . . down there," Winton to MacMillan, August 7, 1910, *ibid.*, independent engineering analysis, "Large Report to Knauth, Nachod & Kuhne by Ford, Bacon & Davis and J. C. Holcombe," December 15, 1910, CA, 29-07, syndicate, *passim* CA 13-01, July 1910-June 1911 (see, particularly, MacMillan to Henry C. Wood, October 7 and 12, 1910, Ralph Whelan to C. T. Jaffray, October 7 and 12, 1910), "doubtful value," MacMillan to C. T. Jaffray, et al., June 17, 1910, CA Deeds and Documents #30.

16. Cargill & Withee claim, MacMillan to Jaffray, March 2, 1911, CA 13-01; MacMillan to Ralph Whelan, March 3, 1911, *ibid.*; issue of W. W. Withee share in Cargill & Withee, W. W. Cargill to E. S. Bristol, January 25, 1909, CA 35-03, and Fred Hanchette to John and Edna MacMillan, December 22, 1909, *ibid.*; "would not tolerate," MacMillan letter to Whelan, March 3, 1911, *ibid.*; "foolish to shower sympathy" in Hanchette letter to John and Edna MacMillan, December 22, 1909, *ibid.*; for comments on Will Cargill "blemishes in personal life," see Clarence Stowell to MacMillan, December 6, 1910, CA 35-03; MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, July 8 and July 28, 1911, CA 24-01; MacMillan to T. F. Baxter, October 24, 1911, CA 20-01; "devil," Hanchette to MacMillan, July 20, 1910, CA 35-03; signing of releases by Cargill & Withee, MacMillan to W. C. Winton, June 8 and July 8, 1911, CA 13-01; Valier and Williams elevators, *ibid.*, June 28, 1911; reprieve of rain, Winton to MacMillan, June 28, 1911, *ibid.* There were further claims by Cargill & Withee in the following year—see MacMillan to W. A. Lancaster, February 26, 1912, CA 20-01.

17. Frank Hixon plan, his letter to Judge W. A. Lancaster of August 10, 1911, and attached "To Creditors of W. W. Cargill Company and of Estate of W. W. Cargill," CA 24-01; "whipping . . . into . . . shape," James Taylor to MacMillan, August 11, 1911, CA 12-02; "strongly biased in their feelings," MacMillan to Hixon, September 6 and 11, 1911, CA 24-01; "clearly appeal to the creditors," Hixon to MacMillan, September 12, 1911, *ibid.*; "not offer to shake hands," MacMillan to Fred and Emma Hanchette, September 22, 1911, *ibid.*; Will Cargill agenda, MacMillan to T. F. Baxter, September 22 and October 6, 1911; Hixon to MacMillan, September 7, 1911; MacMillan to the Hanchettes, September 23 and 25, 1911; MacMillan to Hixon, September 25 and October 20, 1911; MacMillan to J. B. Taylor, September 27, 1911, *ibid.*; arbitration agreement draft is dated October 9, 1911, CA 12-02; final signing was August 28, 1912; "painfully shy," MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, February 20, 1912, CA 24-01; "the woman," draft letter, MacMillan to T. F. Baxter, CA 20-01; small creditors, undated newspaper article, "Small Creditors May Block Plan," *ibid.*; an overview of all relations with Will Cargill is in John Sr. to Mrs. W. S. Cargill, August 4, 1921, CA 28-03.

18. Administrators' fee, MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, February 8, 24 and 29, April 3 and 24, May 1, 1912; Hanchette to MacMillan, March 3, 1912; MacMillan to Hixon, February 23, March 1 and 19, April 2, 1912; Hixon to MacMillan, March 14 and 19, 1912; MacMillan to T. F. Baxter, March 8 and 11, April 3, 1912; Baxter to MacMillan, March 11, 1912, all in CA 24-01.

19. See Cargill Elevator Company *Minute Book* for special meeting of the shareholders on July 26, 1910, changing the nature of the statement on purposes. The election of M. B. Kuhn, F. B. Hixon and C. T. Jaffray (along with J. B. Cooper, J. D. McMillan and J. H. MacMillan) in the minutes of August 9, 1910. Cargill Securities Company corporate minute book, May 8, 1912, discusses trusteeship of the Minneapolis Trust Company; the minute book also contains

a balance sheet as of September 30, 1912, showing that 8,362 shares of Cargill Elevator stock appear as an asset, and \$2,525,000 of bonds appear as a liability. *Titanic* disaster in MacMillan to C. T. Jaffray, April 22, 1912, CA 29-07.

20. "Perfect right," MacMillan to Mary R. Barker, August 6, 1912; "instead of pulling," *ibid.*, August 1, 1913, CA 24-01, B; "man in New York," Lindahl to MacMillan, February 2, 1909, CA 12-01; ocean freight costs, A. D. Thompson Co. to Cargill Commission Co., June 17, 1913, CA 28-04; the Audit Company of New York audit, covering the crop year ending July 16, 1910, was dated August 15, 1910, CA 13-01; the first Marwick Mitchell & Co. audit was dated August 21, 1911, *ibid.*; "not clean up," MacMillan to G. W. Turner, April 26, 1911, CA 13-01; "not . . . banking business," MacMillan to Nelson Bros., April 26, 1911, *ibid.*; "purely banking," MacMillan to Robert H. Rippe, October 3, 1911, CA 20-01; Peavey difficulties, MacMillan to T. F. Baxter, July 13, 21 and 27, 1911, and Baxter to MacMillan, July 18 and 24, 1911, CA 20-01.

21. "Not germinating," Dudley M. Irwin to John MacMillan, September 8, 1911; MacMillan to Irwin, September 12, 1911, CA 12-02; MacMillan to Irwin, September 23 and 25, 1911, CA, *ibid.*

22. See Irwin to MacMillan, October 31, 1911, CA 12-02.

23. "Don't say anything to Prime," MacMillan to Irwin, November 2, 1911; "kindergarten learning," Irwin to Cargill Commission Company, Duluth, December 15, 1911, CA 12-02.

24. "An old game," MacMillan to Irwin, December 18, 1911; chemical analysis, Irwin to MacMillan, December 21, 1911; "not a pound of Canadian," MacMillan to Irwin, December 26, 1911, CA 12-02.

25. Impossibility of chemical analysis, MacMillan to Irwin, December 26 and 30, 1911; Irwin's dilemma, his letter to MacMillan, December 28, 1911, *ibid.*; federal grain standards, see "National Inspection and Grading of Grain," hearings on Senate bills 151 and 3685, Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 59-1, February 26 and March 1, 1906; "Grain Inspection and Grading Bills," House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, 61-2, May 20, 1910; "Inspection and Grading of Grain," hearings on S. 223, Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, 62-2, May 27, 1912; "Warehouse and Grain Standards Legislation," hearings on H.R. 8040 and H.R. 4646, House Committee on Agriculture, 64-1, January 13, 1916; "Agriculture Appropriation Bill, 1917," hearings on H.R. 12717, Senate Committee on Agriculture and Forestry, May 19, 20, 1916. Quotation by Carl L. Alsberg, chief of the Bureau of Chemistry, U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Uniform Grading of Grain," hearings on H.R. 14493, House Committee on Agriculture, 63-1, 2 and 3, April 27, 28, 29 and 30, May 1, 2, 7 and 11 and June 1, 1914, p. 55.

26. "Patience . . . exhausted," Irwin to MacMillan, February 20, 1912; "Quackenbush correct," MacMillan to Irwin, February 29, 1912; "utterly vicious," MacMillan to Irwin, March 5, 1912, CA 12-02.

27. Competition between offices, MacMillan to Irwin, March 22, 1912; "worked hard to avoid," Irwin to MacMillan, March 25, 1912, CA 12-02.

28. "Different point of view," MacMillan to Irwin, March 28, 1912, CA 12-02.

29. Prime's department, MacMillan to Irwin, October 14, 1912, CA 12-02.

30. Obituary of Dudley Irwin, *Buffalo Evening News*, March 1, 1945.

31. "Fourth Annual Outing of the Cargill Elevator Company at St. Albans Bay Hotel," July 10, 1915, and attached materials, CA John Work 1.

32. Austen Cargill wedding, James Taylor to W. E. Olson, September 18, 1913, CA 35-10, "O."

33. Firing the Green Bay manager, W. S. Cargill to John MacMillan, August 5, 1909; MacMillan to W. S. Cargill August 7, 1909, CA 12-02. See also MacMillan to Lindahl, September 1, 1909, CA 12-01; "develop . . . in an executive way," MacMillan to Austen Cargill, April 21, 1913; "in charge of . . . seeds," Cargill to MacMillan, July 26, 1913; "make a showing," MacMillan to Cargill, July 30, 1913.

34. Advantages of Milwaukee, MacMillan to Robert Eliot, CA 28-03, E.

35. "Showed his teeth," Edward J. Grimes to MacMillan, June 27, 1914, CA 24-04, Milwaukee; "sorry for the trouble," Grimes to MacMillan, June 30, 1914, *ibid.*; "duly suggested," MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, June 10, 1914, CA 24-02.

36. Commission business, Austen Cargill to James Taylor, November 4, 1915, CA 36-02, C.

37. Quotations and story from an anonymous chronology, assembled at the time of the "Corn case" of 1937, CA 38-04.

38. "Wonderful strides," Grimes to MacMillan, July 19, 1915; "train your customers," MacMillan to Grimes, July 20, 1915, CA 24-04, Milwaukee.

39. "Surprised . . . about your clover," MacMillan to Grimes, April 9, 1915, CA 24-04.

40. "Dislike to complain," Grimes to MacMillan, October 26, 1915; "up to you," MacMillan to Grimes, October 27, 1915, CA 24-04.

41. "Mailing . . . straightened out," MacMillan to Grimes, September 30, 1914; "have been caught," *ibid.*, March 6 and 8, 1916, CA, *ibid.*

42. Tuition charges, John MacMillan to Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass., September 9, 1910; Alfred Stearns to MacMillan, September 9, 1910; MacMillan to Stearns, September 19, 1910, CA 13-01, "PQ." Baggage check, R. E. Hoadley to C. L. Kimball, assistant general passenger agent, Pennsylvania Lines, Minneapolis, June 10, 1911; F. J. McWade, Pennsylvania Railroad Company, Philadelphia, to MacMillan, July 17, 1911, *ibid.*

43. Lack of information, MacMillan to Grimes, May 8, 11 and 14; Grimes to MacMillan, May 10 and 12, 1915, CA 24-04.

44. Osseo, Austen Cargill to MacMillan, October 7, 1915, CA, *ibid.*

45. Defalcation at Bear Creek, Grimes to MacMillan, May 26, 1915, CA, *ibid.*

46. A register of the Austen Cargill purchases in Arkansas, together with a plat map of all of these, is located in CA 36-02; on Cargill Securities Company purchasing Arkansas land in name of Austen Cargill, James Taylor to M. Danaher, June 3, 1924, CA 42-01.

47. The story of the original building of Elevators K and M from the 1945 *History*, op. cit., p. 25; the purchase of the Peavey elevator, known as the Belt Line elevator, was authorized in a special meeting of the directors of the Superior Terminal Elevator Company on January 26, 1914; special meeting of the directors of the Cargill Elevator Company, reporting on the fire and authorizing rebuilding, is in their minutes of May 6, 1914. Details of the Frank Peavey purchase of the Belt Line elevator from Kenneth D. Ruble, *The Peavey Story, a History of Pioneering Achievement in the Grain Industry since 1874* (Minneapolis: Peavey Company, 1963) p. 41. The 1914 capacity figures at Superior from the 1945 *History*, pp. 33, 35, 37.

48. One of the best sources for the experience just before and during World War I for the world's grain trade is M. K. Bennett, "Wheat and War, 1914-18 and Now," *Wheat Studies* 16 (1939), pp. 67-112. Quoted statistics, *ibid.*, p. 82.

49. Comments on year 1915, MacMillan to Grimes, April 8, 1915, and MacMillan to Cargill, January 25, 1915, CA 24-04. MacMillan to F. M. Hanchette, March 15, 1915, CA 24-02, HI.

50. Wheat corner, MacMillan to Grimes, April 8, 1915, CA, 24-04, Milwaukee.

51. James E. Boyle, *Speculation and the Chicago Board of Trade* (New York: Macmillan, 1920) pp. 71ff.; the quotation on "the three big corners," p. 67; on May wheat corner see *Report of the Federal Commission on the Grain Trade. Vol. 7. Effects of Future Trading*, June 25, 1926 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1926), p. 243.

5. Reorganization, the Great War (pp. 200-245)

1. "Won't use a pony," and football, John MacMillan, Jr., to John Sr., September 24, 1910; accounting system, *ibid.*, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan.

2. "Get ahead," John MacMillan, Sr., to John Jr., October 20, 1912, *ibid.*

3. "Not living within . . . income," John Sr. to John Jr., January 10, 1913; "own way in the world," February 26, 1913, *ibid.*

4. "Playing the baby," John Sr. to John Jr., December 13, 1912, *ibid.*, "a roughhouse," John Jr. to W. Duncan MacMillan, May 1, 1947, CA 47-11.

5. Discipline of John Jr., Charles H. Forbes to John Sr., December 20, 1912, CA 28-04. Vacation absence penalty, MacMillan to Forbes, January 14 and 20, 1913; Forbes to MacMillan, January 17 and 27, 1913; CA 24-01, F; John Jr. "insubordination," John Sr. to John Jr., February 11, 1913, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan.

6. "Be a leader," John Sr. to John Jr., January 10, 1913, *ibid.*

7. "Know the big men," John Sr. to John Jr., April 11, 1913, *ibid.*

8. "Differences in social strata," John Sr. to John Jr., October 20, 1912, *ibid.*

9. Farmer's life, John Jr. to Edna MacMillan, n.d., (ca. summer 1914), *ibid.*

10. Yale professors, John Jr. to John Sr., November 14, 1914; discussion of Irving Fisher course, John Jr. to Edna MacMillan, February 15, 1915; the Irish visitor, June 7, 1915, *ibid.* See also Sumner B. Young interview, ca. 1964, John Work MS

11. John Jr.'s 21st birthday, John Sr. to John Jr., November 28, 1916, CA, John Work box 5, "Poor physical condition," John Sr. to John Jr., April 21, 1913; smoking at Andover, *ibid.*, November 2, 1916; smoking as a vice, *ibid.*, March 18, 1917. First letter in MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan, second and third in CA, John Work MS box, CA.

12. Quotation on "aggressive merchandising" from *History*, op. cit. p. 53; concern about default, John Sr. to Bond & Goodwin, Boston, April 27, 1916, and Bond & Goodwin to John Sr., May 1, 1916, CA 24-01, B.

13. Not disclosing profits, John Sr. to T. F. Baxter, Boston, July 2 and July 7, 1915, CA 24-01, B; telephone call to Boston, John Sr. to Baxter, December 28, 1915, *ibid.*

14. John Jr. quotation on Valier from extant partial transcript of the original thesis, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan (see also Work, *Cargill Beginnings* . . . , op. cit., p. 141).

15. Austen Cargill "shrinking," MacMillan to Fred M. Hanchette, Pasadena, Calif., March 14, 1916, CA 24-02, H1.

16. Possible voting trust, John Sr. to Hanchette, April 14, 1916, *ibid.*

17. Will Cargill "threatened . . . trouble," John Sr. to Hanchette, May 11, 1916; basic plan, John Sr. to F. P. Hixon, May 29, 1916, CA, *ibid.*

18. Increase in authorized capital stock and establishment of preferred stock, Corporate Minute Book of Cargill Elevator Company, June 28, 1916 (meeting of Board of Directors), and subsequent stockholder meeting (July 1, 1916); reorganization plan, Noteholders Protective Committee memorandum of June 15, 1916, CA 35-03; "heartiest congratulations," John Sr. to Mrs. George R. Barker, July 3, 1916, CA 24-01, B; "not . . . borrow a dollar," John Sr. to T. F. Baxter, July 5, 1916.

19. "Taking in the boys," W. W. Cargill to John MacMillan, October 4, 1906, CA 36-07; C. T. Jaffray misgivings, John Sr. to F. P. Hixon, May 29, 1916, CA 24-02, H1; allocations of stock, John Sr. to R. E. Wisner, July 3, 1916, CA 24-03, UVW; the Noteholders Protective Committee summation on their report of June 15, 1916, CA 35-03.

20. "Fearful of Will," John Sr. to Hixon, June 7, 1916, CA 24-02, H1. Purchase of shares from William S. Cargill, John Sr. to Baxter, June 13-16, 1916, CA 24-01, B. The John Work book describes this arrangement in slightly different form:

In the Summer of 1915, when Austen was sent down from Minneapolis with a proposed settlement for my father's one-fourth interest, my father was hungry. Austen had with him an appraisal of the total business in which the Mexican property had been written off entirely, and so had the property in British Columbia. The total value of the estate, as shown in the appraisal, was \$2 million. Austen was empowered to offer my father notes totaling \$250,000 and the balance, except for a cash payment of \$25,000 in gold bonds on the La Crosse and Southeastern Railway. The bonds were paying interest, and later they were redeemed for full value. In any case, my father took the offer. (pp. 151-52)

For details on arrangements between John MacMillan, Sr., and Austen Cargill re the W. S. Cargill stock, see August 11, 1916, CA 28-03. Will's recalcitrance, Austen Cargill to John Sr., August 5, 1916, CA, *ibid.*; "put the plan thru rough shod," John Sr. to T. F. Baxter, June 7, 1916, CA 24-01, B.

21. The provisions for the sale of "employee stock" is spelled out in the Corporate Minute Book of Cargill Elevator Company, in the meeting of July 16, 1916; the "Contract of Purchase and Repurchase . . . " form is attached to these minutes. For full list of stockholdings after this 1916 sale to employees and outsiders, see Marwick, Mitchell, Peat & Co. audit statement for the Company for the year 1916-1917, Schedule 8.

22. "Splendid shape," F. P. Hixon to Emma Hanchette, June 14, 1916, CA 35-03; Emma's "funny ideas," Austen Cargill to J. B. Taylor, July 28, 1916, CA 28-03; "secure for you an income," Cargill to Emma Hanchette, July 29, 1916, *ibid.*; John Sr. explanation of 1912 fees and his first plan of reorganization in his letter to Fred and Emma Hanchette, September 5, 1916, *ibid.*; Emma Hanchette response in her undated letter, ca. September 10 to John Sr., CA 35-03; John Sr. response in his letter to the Hanchettes, September 18, 1916, *ibid.*; "no fair" comment by Fred Hanchette in his letter to John Sr., October 3, 1916, CA 35-03; "favored and

carried along," John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, October 13, 1916, CA 28-03; reply from Hanchette dated October 17, 1916, *ibid.*

23. World War I grain problems, M. K. Bennett, "Wheat and War, 1914-18 and Now," in Food Research Institute, Stanford University *Wheat Studies*, Vol. 16, No. 3 (November 1939), 67-112. See also Tom Gibson Hall, Jr., "Cheap Bread from Dear Wheat: Herbert Hoover, the Wilson Administration, and the Management of Wheat Prices, 1916-1920," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Davis, 1970.

24. Bennett, op. cit. p. 93; he quotes here from *Royal Commission on Wheat Supplies, First Report* (Cmd. 1544, London, 1921).

25. Frank M. Surface, *The Grain Trade During the World War, Being a History of the Food Administration Grain Corporation and the United States Grain Corporation* (New York: MacMillan, 1928), p. 28; *Northwestern Miller*, May 16, 1917, p. 465.

26. See Bruno Lasker, "The Food Riots," in *The Survey*, March 3, 1917, p. 638; *New York Times*, February 22, 1917; *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, February 20, 1917.

27. Lasker, op. cit., p. 638, statement of St. Louis chairman in *New York Times*, February 23, 1917.

28. Henrietta M. Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900*, op. cit., p. 303.

29. See, especially, Frank M. Surface, op. cit.

30. Meeting of the Committee of Grain Exchanges in Aid of National Defense with Herbert Hoover, see Surface, op. cit., pp. 37-38. The text of their reply is on pp. 573-76. John MacMillan, Sr., letter to Hoover, May 21, 1917, CA, 24-02, H1; comments on Hoover, John Sr. to T. F. Baxter, May 19, 1917, CA 24-01, B; John Sr. on patriotism in his letter to John Jr., February 23, 1917, CA, John Work box. Telegram recommending status quo, W. O. Timmerman to John Sr., May 15, 1917, CA 28-04, T.

31. Wheat ceiling prices, MacMillan to Julius H. Barnes, June 8, 1917; CA 24-01, B.

32. Congress setting of maximum prices, John Sr. to J. Ralph Pickell, June 8, 1917, CA 28-04, PQ.

33. "Fair" price determination of 1917, Surface, op. cit., chap. 4. The price structure is enumerated at p. 72. For the politics evolving around this, see Hall, op. cit., chap. 2. Stephen Leacock quotation reprinted in Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930*, op. cit., p. 173.

34. Surface, op. cit., pp. 28-29.

35. Speculation, John Sr. to Knute Nelson, May 23 and 31, 1917; Nelson to John Sr., May 26, 1917; CA 24-02, N.

36. "Wheat and War, 1914-18 and Now," op. cit., p. 69. Bread quality, "Wanted, a New Bread," *Bulletin of the Pan American Union* 45 (1917): 188; Committee on Public Information, U.S. Government, Vol. 2, No. 248 (March 4, 1918) pp. 1, 5; barley bread, James Taylor to F. E. Lindahl, April 10, 1918; CA 32-01, Duluth.

37. Declaration of dividend, John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, June 15, 1917, CA 28-03.

38. Article in Dawson, N. Dak., *Press*, June 7, 1917; Company reply, June 9 and June 12, 1917; promise of retraction, B. G. McElroy to Cargill Elevator Co., June 23, 1917; CA 28-03, D.

39. "Don't Destroy the Wheat Market of the Farmer by Means of Vicious Legislation," speech of Hon. Knute Nelson, Minnesota, July 9, 1917, pp. 6-8 (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1917); CA 24-02, W.

40. Hoover agreement with the millers, see Surface, op. cit., 91-112, Hall, op. cit., 85-88. Arrangements with the elevator companies, Surface, pp. 79-82.

41. Canadian negotiations, Surface, op. cit., 273-89 and in Hall, 106-13. For the Australian and Argentine developments, see Surface, op. cit., pp. 289-98.

42. Personal animosity between Herbert Hoover and William G. McAdoo concerning rail embargoes of 1917-1918 is described in Hall, op. cit., pp. 113-19.

43. Election of John Sr. to the presidency of the Council of Grain Exchanges, *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Meeting*, Chicago, January 17, 1918; CA 41-12. Query to Fred Hanchette re dividends, John Sr. to Hanchette, June 20, 1918, CA 28-03; proposal to Austen Cargill, John Sr. to Cargill, July 3, 1918, *ibid.*

44. Connecticut National Guard in Mexican border service, John Sr. to T. F. Baxter, June

23, 1916, CA 24-01, B; John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, July 6, 1916, CA 24-02, HI; John Jr. desire to go to Mexico, his letter to John Sr., April 21, 1915, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan. John Jr.'s promotion to corporal, see letter of confirmation, dated June 28, 1916, *ibid.*

45. Green Bay elevator, John Sr. to John Jr., November 13, 1916; CA, John Work box; report on fire, John Gruber, "On Green Bay Skyline Since the Civil War," *Voyageur* 8 (Summer, Fall, 1991), p. 46; "the President did the right thing," *ibid.*, February 5, 1917; officer training corps at Yale, *ibid.*, February 14, 1917; efforts by John Sr. in regard to appointment, *ibid.*, April 23, 24, 25 and 26, 1917 (quotation from letter of April 24); mathematics of artillery shelling, William D. MacMillan to John MacMillan, Jr., February 12, 1918; CA, John Work box.

46. Austen Cargill enlistment, F. E. Lindahl to J. B. Taylor, April 11, 1918, CA 32-07, JBT.

47. Authority for John Jr. being the youngest major in the army is his father (in a letter to Austen Cargill, dated September 9, 1918, CA 24-01, C). A copy of the recommendation for promotion, dated August 17, 1918, is in CA, John Work box; on colonel's files, John Jr. to John Sr. and Edna, ca. August 1918, W. Duncan MacMillan MS collection.

48. The originals of the John Jr. correspondence from France are in the W. Duncan MacMillan manuscript collection; typescripts are in CA 41-11. The trip over is described in Letter #4 (undated) and Letter #3, September 10, 1918; description of London, *ibid.*; the chateaus are described in Letter #9, September 23, 1918; week schedule from Letter #13, October 6, 1918; action at front and comments on officers, John Jr. to Daniel MacMillan, October 26, 1918.

49. For an excellent review of the literature on eugenics, see Daniel J. Kevles, *In the Name of Eugenics: Genetics and the Uses of Human Heredity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985); quotation on use of armed services IQ tests on pp. 80-81; rankings re intelligence tests, John Jr. to John and Edna MacMillan, June 14, 1918, CA 34-05.

50. Three categories of headquarters officers, John Jr. to John Sr., November 8, 1918, CA 41-11; on being a field grade officer, Letter 17, November 5, 1912, the "MacMillan conceit," Letter 10, September 24, 1918.

51. Lowered morale, John Sr. to John Jr., January 14, 1919; CA, John Work box.

52. John Jr.'s promotion, Austen Cargill to John Jr., October 6, 1918, *ibid.*; visit to Bordeaux, Anne Cargill to J. B. Taylor, June 23, 1918, CA 40-03; difficulties on Austen Cargill's discharge, CA 24-01, C.

53. Cargill MacMillan at Andover, his letters of October 22, November 2 and 23, 1916, and January 6 and 31, May 9 and 23, 1917, W. Duncan MacMillan MS collection; school newspaper, John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, October 14, 1917, and to Edna MacMillan, December 12, 1917; Cargill MacMillan service at Yale, his letter to John Jr., October 5, 1918; CA, John Work box; "enthusiasm," John Sr. to John Jr., October 15, 1918, *ibid.*

54. John Maynard Keynes, *Two Memoirs* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1949), p. 26 Herbert Hoover's "war bread," Hall, op. cit., p. 181.

6. Farmer Discontent, Regulatory Concerns (pp. 247-79)

1. For data on 1919 crop and on the establishment of the post of Wheat Director, see Frank M. Surface, *The Grain Trade during the World War . . .*, op. cit., pp. 146-57; Tom Gibson Hall, Jr., *Cheap Bread from Dear Wheat . . .*, op. cit., pp. 213-30. The legislation establishing the United States Grain Corporation was the Wheat Guarantee Act (March, 1919); see U.S. Statutes at Large, 40:1384-1353; Executive Order 3087, May 14, 1919.

2. "Low price on bread," John MacMillan to Julius H. Barnes, April 22, 1919, CA 24-03, UVW. See also Harry Fornari, *Bread upon the Water* (Nashville, Tenn.: Aurora Publishers, 1973), pp. 74-79.

3. *New York Times*, July 30, 1919.

4. "Mr. Hoover's deceit," *Wallace's Farmer*, March 5, 1920, p. 763. Farmer "false optimism," Tom Gibson Hall, Jr., *Cheap Bread from Dear Wheat*, op. cit., p. 235; George N. Peck and Hugh S. Johnson, *Equality for Agriculture* (Moline, Ill.: H. W. Harrington, 1922).

5. John C. Hudson, *Plains Country Towns* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1985), p. 5; bread and Bolshevism, *Northwestern Miller*, April 9, 1919; headline and article on

Winnipeg strike, *ibid.*, July 2, 1919; "neurasthenic women," Lois and Alan Gordon, *American Chronicle* (New York Atheneum, 1987), p. 7.

6. Socialists as "free lovers," *Grand Forks Herald*, April 6, 1916, reprinted in Robert L. Morlan, *Political Prairie Fire: The Nonpartisan League, 1915-1922* (St. Paul Minnesota Historical Society Press, 1955, 1985), p. 61 "Led by an anarchist," quotation from Willis Williams in *St. Paul Dispatch*, September 22, 1917.

7. Alarm about Nonpartisan League, John MacMillan, Sr., to L. F. Gates, September 22, 1919, CA 24-01, union relations in Duluth, F. E. Lindahl to MacMillan, August 22, 25, 26 and 29, 1919, "riots in any city," MacMillan to Lindahl, November 24, 1919, CA 24-04. Early Duluth labor relations, Curtis S. Miller, "Organized Labor A Look Back" in Ryck Lydecker and Lawrence J. Sommer, eds., *Duluth Sketches of the Past* (Duluth American Revolution Bicentennial Commission, 1976), material on grain handlers union, pp. 212-13.

8. "Three or four months rest," John MacMillan, Sr., to Fred and Emma Hanchette, December 30, 1918, CA 24-02, trip with Hub Owen, John Sr to Fred Hanchette, May 15, 1919, *ibid.*, "wreck," *ibid.*, July 2, 1919, rvc account, John Sr to F. E. Lindahl, September 23, 1919, *ibid.*, John Sr to A. M. Prime, same date, *ibid.*, "doing alright," Lindahl to John Sr., November 6, 1919, CA 24-04, "startled to read," John Sr to John MacMillan, Jr., November 17, 1919, *ibid.*, Argentine and Winnipeg offices, Lindahl to John Sr., December 20, 1919, *ibid.*, "a little early yet," John Sr to Lindahl, January 24, 1920, *ibid.*; John Jr. illness, John Sr to Lindahl, January 29 and 31, February 3, 6, 10, 11, 14, 25, March 5, 1920, *ibid.*, nurses in Duluth, Lindahl to John Sr., February 4, 1920, *ibid.*, quotation on Minneapolis doctor re influenza, Richard Collier, *The Plague of the Spanish Lady: the Influenza Pandemic of 1918-1919* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), p. 179; statistics on 1918-1919 epidemic, *ibid.*, p. 306.

9. "After-effect," John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, February 20, 1920, CA 24-02; trip to Seattle and Vancouver, *ibid.*, June 14, 1920, "meals in his room," *ibid.*, June 14 and 19, 1920; John Sr visit to Will Cargill, his letter to F. E. Lindahl, June 25, 1920, *ibid.*, "feeling pretty well," John Sr to Austen Cargill, September 20, 1920, CA 21-02, problem with manager, John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, October 12, 1920, CA 24-02, another year for responsibility, John Sr to Austen Cargill, September 28, 1920, CA 21-04; "life agrees," John Sr to Fred Hanchette, December 1, 1920, CA 24-02; "little fearful of your condition," John Sr. to John MacMillan, Jr., December 24, 1920, *ibid.*

10. Hedges and speculation, John Sr. to A. M. Prime, January 2 and February 11, 1920, CA 24-04, Chicago Board of Trade, L. F. Gates to MacMillan, October 10, 1919, CA 24-01; John Sr to Prime, August 2, 1919, CA 24-04, John Sr to John MacMillan, Jr., January 16, 1920, *ibid.*, high cost of living, John Sr to Managing Editor, *New York World*, August 5, 1919, CA 24-02.

11. "Business panic," John MacMillan, Sr., to John Jr., November 9, 1920, CA 24-02; "watch out for doubtful customers," John Sr to A. L. Jacobs, March 15, 1921, CA 24-04, banks worried, July 12, 1921, CA 29-03, "professional agitators," John Sr to Knute Nelson, July 26, 1921, CA 28-03; for effects on farmers, see James Shideler, *Farm Crisis, 1919-1923* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1957).

12. Austen "living on float," John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, October 1, 1921, CA 28-04; "plaved pinochle," Julius Hendel and Austen Cargill, "The Human Side of Business," May 16, 1946, in Gerald A. Jones, ed., *Cargill's Business: A General Information Manual of the Grain, Feed, Seed and Vegetable Oil Business of Cargill, Incorporated*. Training Department, various dates, January, 1945-January, 1949.

13. "Abnormal times," John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, February 1, 1922, CA 29-03.

14. The nine volumes of the *Report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Grain Trade* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1920-1926) are as follows:

- Vol. 1: *Country Grain Marketing*, September 15, 1920
- Vol. 2: *Terminal Grain Markets and Exchanges*, *ibid.*
- Vol. 3: *Terminal Grain Marketing*, December 21, 1921
- Vol. 4: *Middlemen's Profits and Margins*, September 26, 1923
- Vol. 5: *Future Trading Operations in Grain*, September 15, 1920
- Vol. 6: *Prices of Grain and Grain Futures*, September 10, 1924
- Vol. 7: *Effects of Future Trading*, June 25, 1926

Vol 1: *Interrelations and Profits*, May 16, 1922

Vol 2: *Speculation, Competition and Prices*, June 18, 1923

Initiation of the study, Tom Gibson Hall, Jr., *Cheap Bread from Dear Wheat . . .*, op. cit., pp. 25-30; "manipulations, controls," Woodrow Wilson to William J. Harris, chairman of the Federal Trade Commission, February 7, 1917, cited in Henry Miller, *World War Activities by the Federal Trade Commission, 1917-1918* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1940), pp. 66-69; "corrupt individual," Hall, op. cit., p. 27; William Edgar quotation on "bread trust," *Northwestern Miller*, February 28, 1917.

15. Federal Trade Commission, Vol. 1, op. cit., pp. 33, 64.
16. Ibid., p. 195.
17. "Coming down to list," ibid., p. 252; "no storage . . . charged," ibid., p. 256; "when . . . a drop," ibid., p. 259; cooperative competition, ibid., p. 267; confining aggression, ibid., p. 280, farmers farming the buyer, ibid., p. 301.
18. Ibid., pp. 244-45.
19. Ibid., Vol. 4, pp. 81-82.
20. "Highly controversial state," ibid., Vol. 2, pp. 52-53; proportional rates, ibid., pp. 43-44.
21. "Litchfield list," ibid., Vol. 3, p. 224; Stirum and Dresden examples, Vol. 3, pp. 202-3.
22. FTC quotation on wire services, ibid., Vol. 7, p. 306, John MacMillan, Sr., view in his letter to F. A. Chamberlain, February 21, 1921, CA 24-01; "government control," his letter to Horace C. Klein, November 13, 1923, CA 28-05.
23. Futures trading, Henrietta M. Larson, *The Wheat Market and the Farmer in Minnesota, 1858-1900*, op. cit., p. 206, Samuel Untermyer, "Speculation on the Stock Exchanges and Public Regulation of the Exchanges," *American Economic Review (Supplement)*, 5 (1915): 24-68.
24. Corners, Federal Trade Commission, Vol. 5, pp. 322-46, Vol. 7, pp. 242-74, op. cit.
25. Ibid., Vol. 5, p. 21; the attempt by Arthur Cutten to corner the May 1922 wheat contract on the Chicago Board of Trade is discussed in William G. Ferris, *The Grain Traders*, op. cit., pp. 166-73; *Northwestern Miller*, April 19 and June 7, 1922.
26. Capper-Tincher bill, John MacMillan, Sr., to John Jr., June 7, 1921, CA 29-03; statement on unconstitutionality of the Act, *Northwestern Miller*, May 17, 1922; advice to Representative Tincher, John Sr. to J. M. Tincher, May 20, 1921, CA 28-04, news release of Secretary of Agriculture concerning revised version, Division of Publications, Press Service, USDA, December 10, 1921 (copy in CA 24-03); statement by Chicago Board of Trade, *Northwestern Miller*, April 18, 1923.
27. For "grain futures trading" laws, George Wright Hoffman, *Future Trading upon Organized Commodity Markets in the United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1932), pp. 363-75; Cedric B. Cowing, *Populists, Plungers and Progressives: A Social History of Stock and Commodity Speculation, 1890-1936* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1965), pp. 92-95; Donald L. Winter, *Henry Canwell Wallace as Secretary of Agriculture, 1921-1924* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1970), p. 199, barring Soviet futures purchases, *Northwestern Miller*, October 1, 1930; *Wheat Studies*, 7 (February 1931): 262.
28. National Association of Grain Dealers meetings in 1923, *Northwestern Miller*, October 3, 1923; MS of John MacMillan, Sr., speech, "Grain Financing in the Northwest," dated February 1922, is at CA 40-08 (excerpted version reprinted in *Cargill News*), March 1931; for Wheat Conference, see *Northwestern Miller*, June 20 and 27, 1923; John Sr. comments on this meeting in his letter to John Jr., June 23, 1923, CA 28-03; "wheat problem" commission, see *Wall Street Journal*, October 30, 1923; John H. Rich, "The Economic Position of Agriculture in the Northwestern Grain Raising Areas," Federal Reserve Board and Conference of Federal Reserve Agents, November 12, 1923, CA 31-01; Publicity Committee, Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce, "Orderly Marketing," ca. September 1923, ibid.; Eugene Meyer, Jr., and Frank W. Mondell, *Report to the President on the Wheat Situation* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1923); Cargill Elevator Company to Walter H. Newton, November 7, 1923, ibid.; McNary-Haugen bills, Gilbert C. Fite, *George N. Peek and the Fight for Farm Party* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1954).
29. Art Museum, *Minneapolis Morning Tribune*, January 11, 1911. Donations, Sheltering Arms, September 30, 1915; infant welfare, September 21, 1914; Bureau of Legal Aid, May 3, 1913; Animal Rescue League, June 1, 1917; Anti-Mosquito Committee, June 1, 1916, CA 24-01; YMCA donations, June 28, 1909, October 5, 1910, CA 13-01; 1915 YMCA donation, October 8, 1915, CA 24-01; Belgian Relief, November 13, 1914, CA 28-01; American Red Cross "War Fund," June 14, 1917, CA 24-01; Minneapolis Society of Fine Arts, October 1, 1913, ibid.; MacMillan letter to American Defense Society, July 7, 1920; donation to American Committee of Minneapolis, August 26, 1919, ibid.; "desecration," John Sr. to Minneapolis Committee, National Memorial on Rushmore Mountain, January 3, 1928, CA 28-04; MacMillan quotation on solicitation of employees in letter to F. H. Carpenter, December 8, 1913, ibid.; publicizing philanthropy, John MacMillan to George W. Harsh, November 8, 1922, CA 24-01; graduate student project, R. S. Possinger to MacMillan, January 5, 1924, and MacMillan to Possinger, January 9, 1924, ibid.
30. November 1915 Cargill response to Federal Trade Commission request for data on foreign trade, see CA, 24-01; the two FTC reports are *Methods and Operations of Grain Exporters*, Vol. 1, *Interrelations and Profits*, May 16, 1922, and Vol. 2, *Speculation, Competition and Prices*, June 18, 1923.

7. *Expanding Eastward, a Revolt* (pp. 280-314)

1. Telegraph and telephone, F. E. Lindahl to MacMillan, September 12, 1907, CA 21-02; Duluth, Buffalo problems, MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, October 25, 1922, CA 28-04, HJ. For the Canadian "pool" experience, see Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas: Agrarian Policy in Canada and Argentina, 1880-1930*, op. cit., pp. 188-211; Allan Levine, "Open Market or 'Orderly Marketing': The Winnipeg Grain Exchange and the Wheat Pools, 1923-1939," *Agricultural History* 61 (Spring, 1987): 50.
2. Poor prospects for year, John MacMillan to Austen Cargill, April 17, 1923, CA 24-01, C.
3. "Comments by J. H. MacMillan, Stillwater Meeting," November 13-15, 1953; CA 63-05. On European firms in New York City, see Morton Rothstein, "Multinationals in the Grain Trade, 1850-1914," *Business and Economic History*, 2nd ser., 12 (1983): 85; Mira Wilkins, *The History of Foreign Investment in the United States to 1914* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1989), pp. 316-20.
4. 1920 arbitration cases, A. L. Jacobs to MacMillan, October 29, 1920, CA 24-04, Milwaukee; the Armour difficulties and effect on Taylor & Bournique, John MacMillan to Austen Cargill, May 31, 1923, CA 24-01, C.
5. Erie Railroad proposal, John MacMillan to John W. Adams, November 13, 1922, CA 28-03, E.; speculative accounts, MacMillan to A. L. Jacobs, May 12, 1921, CA 24-04, Milwaukee.
6. Negotiations on Taylor & Bournique acquisition, A. L. Taylor to MacMillan, April 24; Lyman Bournique to MacMillan, May 17 and 18; MacMillan to Lyman Bournique, May 21, CA 28-04, T. Contract for transfer in letter, Bournique to MacMillan, June 4, 1923, ibid.
7. Private wire system described in MacMillan to Austen Cargill, May 31 and July 6, 1923, CA 24-01, C; the name "Clement-Curtis" came from the company of the same name, the supplier of the system. Earlier wire services by T&B to Iowa, A. L. Jacobs to MacMillan, February 23, 1921, CA 24-04, Milwaukee.
8. John MacMillan opposition earlier to private wire services, his letter to J. P. Griffin, president, Chicago Board of Trade, March 11, 1921, CA 24-01, C; "keeps us posted," MacMillan to Austen Cargill, July 6, 1923, CA, ibid.
9. Austen Cargill view of Taylor & Bournique, in his letter to John MacMillan, May 26, 1923, CA 24-01, A.
10. Prospects for Taylor & Bournique, MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, June 4, 1923, CA 28-04, HJ.
11. Grimes on Milwaukee office, letter to MacMillan, May 27, 1923, CA 28-04, G; issue of T&B secretary, MacMillan to Lyman Bournique, May 21, 1923; Bournique reply, May 22, and MacMillan decision on May 23, 1923, CA 28-04, T.
12. Buffalo arrangements, Dudley Irwin to John MacMillan, Sr., May 5, 1923, and MacMillan to Irwin, May 21 and 23, 1923, CA, ibid. Trip of Grimes and John MacMillan, Jr., John Sr. to Austen Cargill, June 15, 1923, CA 24-01, C.

13. Statement on Cargill ethics, MacMillan to A. R. Taylor, June 25, 1923, CA 24-04, Milwaukee.

14. "Hard [time] with Taylor," MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, November 8, 1923, CA 28-04; Taylor's "bad deals," MacMillan to Austen Cargill, November 14, 1923, CA 21-06; firing of Taylor, MacMillan to Taylor, May 9, 1924, 31-02, Milwaukee.

15. Milwaukee fire insurance loss, John MacMillan, Sr., to John MacMillan, Jr., June 24, 1924, CA 29-03; John Sr. to John Jr. and Cargill MacMillan, August 1, 1924, CA 28-03. See also MacMillan to F. P. Hixon, September 4, 1924, CA 28-04, HI. Unwillingness of railroad to rebuild, MacMillan to L. G. Bourne, September 8, 1924, CA 28-03 B; H. E. Byram, president, Chicago Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad to MacMillan, July 2, 1924, CA 24-01, C; final settlement of the insurance claim, MacMillan to Austen Cargill, August 28, 1924, 24-01.

16. Armour mill, H. G. Atwood to MacMillan, April 29, 1927; Philip D. Armour, May 10, May 12 and July 11, 1927; MacMillan to Armour, May 11, May 13, July 13, 1927, CA 28-03, A. The lease for Elevator E in Milwaukee from the Milwaukee Railroad is noted in Cargill Elevator Company Minute Book, June 29, 1927. See also correspondence between Philip D. Armour and John MacMillan in letters of May 10, 11, 12 and 13 and July 11 and 13, 1927, CA 28-03, A, for unwillingness to rebuild, see John MacMillan to R. M. Calkins, chief traffic officer, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railroad, November 27, 1925, CA 28-03, C.

17. The "proportional rate" case of 1922 is discussed in an extensive set of correspondence between John MacMillan, Sr., and various elevator company executives and Interstate Commerce Commission officers in CA 41-12; the results of the I.C.C. decision (I&S Docket 1725) are summarized in a letter and attached analysis from J. G. Woodworth, vice president, Northern Pacific Railway Company, dated May 22, 1923, CA 28-05, N. For a discussion of how this case affected Milwaukee, see MacMillan to A. L. Jacobs, April 6, 1923, CA 24-04, Milwaukee.

18. The *Cargill Chaff*, published by the Cargill Commission Company (Minneapolis), began publication in August 1919; 27 extant copies remain in the Cargill Archives, covering the period December 1919–January 1923; no information is available as to when the publication was taken out of circulation.

19. For Hendel biographical data, see *Cargill News*, May 1965; Robert Diercks comments, ca. 1983, Marvin Borman MS collection; Marvin Borman comments, March 22, 1983, *ibid.* Articles on the Cargill Laboratory and Julius Hendel role, *Cargill Chaff*, August, September, October, 1922. Hendel article entitled "The Mill Mixture" is in *Northwestern Miller*, December 26, 1923. Parody on wheat testing, *ibid.*, November 29, 1922.

20. John Jr.'s health, John MacMillan, Sr., to Fred Hanchette, August 25, 1921; CA 28-03, Estate; on Cargill MacMillan "keeping the books," *ibid.*, October 3, 1922; CA 29-03, JHM Personal.

21. Hendel weather correlations, John Sr. to John Jr., April 23, 1923; CA 28-03, M; John H. MacMillan, Jr., "Federal Spring Wheat Grades," *Cereal Chemistry* 1 (March 1924): 65.

22. Injury to hand, John Sr. to Emma Hanchette, May 6, 1924, CA 28-03, Estate.

23. Assignment of Flood and Hendel, John Sr. to John Jr., June 24, 1924, CA 29-03, loose folder. Difficulties with floor membership, *ibid.*, July 19, August 12, 1924; CA 28-03, JHM Personal.

24. *Cargill News*, May 1965.

25. For an excellent discussion of anti-Semitism in Minneapolis, see Herbert Samuel Rutman, "Defense and Development: A History of Minneapolis Jewry, 1920–1950," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, June 1970. See also John Higham, *Send These to Me: Jews and Other Immigrants in Urban America* (New York: Atheneum, 1975), pp. 163–65; Charles I. Cooper, "The Jews of Minneapolis and Their Christian Neighbors," *Jewish Social Studies* 8 (1946): 32. See also "35 Years in Minneapolis," *The American Jewish World*, September 12, 1947. A full text of the Carey McWilliams article, "Minneapolis Called Anti-Semitic Capital of U.S.," is found in *Minneapolis Star-Tribune*, October 18, 1946. Mayor Hubert Humphrey's Mayor's Committee on Human Relations is analyzed in a *Christian Science Monitor* article, also reprinted in the *Star Tribune*, March 29, 1947. The 11 Cargill members of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce in 1924 were A. L. Ashenden (Cargill Commission), George H. Fulton (Cargill Elevator), Fred W. Drum (Cargill Commission), Geo. H. Feetham (Cargill Elevator), Julius Hendel (Cargill Elevator), Cargill MacMillan (Cargill Commission), D. D.

MacMillan (Minneapolis Seed), J. H. MacMillan, Sr. (Cargill Elevator), J. H. MacMillan, Jr. (Cargill Commission), A. I. Owen (Cargill Commission), John Tresise (Cargill Commission)

26. British Columbia logging operation, Frank Hixon to John MacMillan, Sr., January 24, 1924; CA 28-04, H-I. Differences on railroad, Austen Cargill to J. B. Taylor, April 19, 1924, CA 29-06. Austen Cargill abilities, John Sr. to Hixon, January 18, 1924, *ibid.*; "standard ideas," John Jr. to John Sr., April 20, 1924, MS collection, W. Duncan MacMillan; "petty," Austen Cargill to J. B. Taylor, June 11, 1924, CA 29-06.

27. "Feeling safe," John MacMillan, Sr., to Austen Cargill, August 28, 1924, CA 24-01, C.

28. Buffalo terminals and elevation charges, John MacMillan, Jr., to John Sr., January 13, 1925, CA 28-03, JHM Personal. Hedges, John Sr. to John Jr., January 20, 1925, *ibid.*

29. John Jr. "tired out," John Sr. to "Arthur" (unidentified), December 11, 1924, CA 28-03, JHM Personal.

30. For Goldman Sachs relationship, see Goldman Sachs to E. S. Mooers, December 20, 1924, and John Sr. to Goldman Sachs, December 22, 1924; CA 28-04, G.

31. John Jr. illness, John Hawley, Jr., to John MacMillan, Sr., February 24, 1925; John Sr. to John Jr., February 19, 1925; CA 28-03, JHM Personal

32. John Jr. complete rest, John Sr. to John Jr., February 28, 1925; on Hendel correlations, *ibid.*, February 27, 1925, CA, *ibid.*

33. European trip, John Sr. to F. E. Lindahl (and others), March 23, 1925; CA, wine cellar box John Sr. to A. L. Wheeler, March 25, 1925, CA, *ibid.*

34. Meeting with Austen Cargill, John B. Hawley, Jr., to John MacMillan, Sr., July 24, 1925, CA 35-03.

35. John MacMillan, Jr., meeting with Austen Cargill, John Jr. to John Sr., July 26, 1925, CA, *ibid.*

36. For proposed change in insurance brokers, see John MacMillan, Sr., to F. E. Lindahl, January 31, 1925, CA, wine cellar box.

37. Telegram via Western Union, dated July 26, 1925, 11:12 P.M., to Cargill MacMillan from "Junior," CA 35-03; blood pressure, John MacMillan, Sr., diary, August 12, 1925, CA 36-07; John Sr. letter to 11 banks, August 1, 1925; probing bank reply in D. B. Stern to E. S. Mooers, September 3, 1925, CA 28-03.

38. "Principal complaint," Austen Cargill to Frank Hixon, August 7, 1925, CA. John Work; the voting trust was effective as of August 20, 1925; its terms are elaborated in the Cargill Elevator Company Corporate Minute Book, pp. 170A–170G. Inasmuch as Cargill Elevator proxies were limited by bylaws to a one-year period, the bylaws were amended at a special meeting of the stockholders on September 3, 1925, to make proxies valid for ten years; see Lancaster, Simpson Junnell & Dorsey to F. P. Hixon, August 1925, and John MacMillan, Sr., to Hixon, August 15, 1925; CA 28-04, HI.

39. Report on meeting re voting trust, John MacMillan, Sr., to Fred Hanchette, August 18, 1925, CA 28-04, HI; Hanchette reply, August 28, 1925 (actually an incorrect dating; letter postmarked August 24), *ibid.* John Jr. appears to confirm the role of the bankers in his letter to Emma Hanchette of September 10, 1925, CA 35-03.

40. Events, MacMillan to Hanchette, August 29, 1925, *ibid.*

41. The Hanchette role in the stockholder challenge, Emma Hanchette to John MacMillan, Sr., "Fri. p.m." (N.B., September 18, 1925), *ibid.*

42. John MacMillan, Jr., business abilities, John Sr. to Emma Hanchette, September 24, 1925, CA 28-04, HI; MacMillan to Fred Hanchette, October 27, 1925, *ibid.*

43. The exchange of letters with Margaret Barker and her daughter: John MacMillan, Sr., to Mrs. Geo. R. Barker, September 16 and 23, 1925, CA 28-03, B.; Mary R. Barker to MacMillan, September 23, 1925, CA 28-03, Personal; MacMillan to Mary Barker, September 29, 1925, CA 28-03, B.

44. Alleged statements, see notarized statement, dated October 18, 1925, and signed by John B. Hawley, Jr.; attached to this in the CA file, is a typed, unsigned page, undated, with additional statements, CA 35-03.

45. Mention of stock sale, Hanchette to John Sr., November 20, 1925, CA 28-04, HI.

46. Possible sale of Hanchette stock, John B. Hawley, Jr., to "Uncle Fred," September

30, 1925, CA 35-03; Fred Hanchette to John MacMillan, December 5, 1925, CA 28-04, HI.; for details of one of the proposed plans, see "Tentative Plan No. 2, Purchase of Hanchette Interest, Cargill Companies," undated (ca. July 1925), author identified only as "F" but speaks of "Father's estate" re W. W. Cargill estate.

47. The authority for this dating (and for the amount) is found in a major document, "Historical Outline, of the Estate of W. W. Cargill," undated but with internal evidence suggesting that it was written by "Scott" (otherwise unidentified) and dated October 7, 1935. Internal evidence in this document suggests that it had been prepared for estate purposes among the Cargill heirs. The document is held in the manuscript collection of James F. Cargill.

48. Hanchette to John Sr., December 5, 1925, op. cit.; Hanchette to Austen Cargill, ibid.

49. Loan to the Hanchettes, John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, July 27, 1921, CA 29-03; John Sr. view of the Hawley option and the subsequent purchase, his letter to Fred Hanchette of December 14, 1925, CA 28-04, HI.

50. "Historical Outline of the Estate of W. W. Cargill," op. cit.

51. James Taylor role, Emma Hanchette to Edna MacMillan, November 5, 1925; John MacMillan, Sr., extract from this, dated November 20, 1925; statement of John H. MacMillan, dated November 23, 1925; in regard to statement of John D. MacMillan, signed by the former on November 23 and by the latter on November 24, 1925; CA 35-03.

52. Austen Cargill role, Frank Hixon to John MacMillan, Sr., November 24 and 28, 1925, CA 35-03.

53. Letter concerning Austen Cargill, Hixon to MacMillan, January 28, 1926, ibid.

54. For Austen Cargill role in Commission Department, see "Report Commission Department, July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1933," CA, Special. "Family viewpoint," John MacMillan, Sr., to John Jr., February 1, 1926, CA 28-03, M. For reasons bus operation initiated, see John MacMillan, Sr., to H. E. Pierpont, Chicago, Milwaukee & St. Paul Railway Co., April 22, 1926, CA 28-03, C.

55. "Paving the way," Hixon to MacMillan, August 16, 1926, ibid.

8. Centralization and the "Endless Belt" (pp. 316-36)

1. Military forms of organization, John MacMillan, Jr., "Theory and Practice of Organization," printed speech, May 10, 1946, CA, Special.

2. For earlier Chandler concepts on organization, see especially Alfred D. Chandler, Jr., *Strategy and Structure: Chapters in the History of the Industrial Enterprise* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1962); I have also drawn from Thomas K. McCraw, ed., *The Essential Alfred Chandler: Essays Toward a Historical Theory of Big Business* (Boston: Harvard Business School Press, 1988), pp. 1-21, 472-504, and Professor Chandler's *Scale and Scope: the Dynamics of Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1990).

3. "Marine department," John MacMillan, Sr., to R. M. Knox, January 31, 1925; Knox to MacMillan, February 2, 1925; John MacMillan, Jr., to Knox, March 21, 1925; CA, 28-04, K.

4. Centralizing brokerage and insurance, John Jr. to John Sr., August 22, 1925, CA 28-03, M; for later developments, see John Jr. to F. J. Hays, December 18, 1929, CA Whitney MacMillan MS 5; see also John Jr. testimony on this in the Chicago Board of Trade "corn case," CBOT Archives, University of Illinois, Chicago, AAA 6062-5, 353.

5. Disobeying orders, John MacMillan, Sr. to A. M. Prime and to F. E. Lindahl, both letters dated August 27, 1925; Lindahl to MacMillan, August 28, 1925; MacMillan to Lindahl and to Prime, September 1, 1925; CA, wine cellar box. New office accounting, MacMillan to R. N. Hoople, August 31, 1927, CA 28-04, M.

6. Effect of stock dividend on employee notes to the widows, John MacMillan, Sr., to Fred Hanchette, June 14, 1922; MacMillan to Margaret F. Barker, October 27, 1922; R. E. Wisner to MacMillan, October 31, 1922; Wisner to MacMillan, November 3 and 9, 1922; CA 28-03, Estate. Lindahl's desire to sell stock, his letter to MacMillan, August 17, 1922; MacMillan to Austen Cargill, same date; CA, ibid. Cargill's attitude toward Lindahl, his letter to MacMillan, June 19, 1923, CA 24-01, C.

7. "Organization as a whole," John MacMillan, Sr., to Lindahl, February 13, 1925, CA, wine cellar box; new accounting allocations, MacMillan to Lindahl, September 10 and 14,

1926, CA 28-05, Duluth; "exceedingly fond," ibid., January 3, 1927. "Bad egg," Lindahl to MacMillan, June 2, 1926; screenings inspection issue, MacMillan to Lindahl, September 29 and November 24, 1926; MacMillan to E. McManus, November 24, 1926, Lindahl to MacMillan, November 26, 1926; screenings belonging to elevators, Lindahl to MacMillan, September 13, 1926; CA 28-05, Duluth

8. Curr letter, MacMillan to L. N. Cote, November 9 and 23, 1927; employee stock, MacMillan to W. R. Paul, September 22, 1925, raise in Milwaukee, MacMillan to A. Jacobs, January 22, 1927; CA 28-04. Pleasure about reports, MacMillan to R. J. Seimsch, October 23 and November 4, 1925; MacMillan to R. R. Valier, November 3, 1925; CA 28-05, L.

9. See, particularly, *Report of the Federal Trade Commission on the Methods and Operations of Grain Exporters*, Vol. 1, pp. 1-62; Vol. 2, pp. 52-123, op. cit.

10. "Deep-Waterway-to-the-Sea," John MacMillan, Sr., to J. L. Record, Tidewater Subcommittee, Minneapolis Civic & Commerce Association, October 21, 1920; CA 24-02, M; Welland Canal, Lindahl to John Sr., June 9, 1926; John Sr. to Lindahl, June 10, 1926; John Jr. to John Sr., January 12, 1925; John Sr. to John Jr., January 16, 1925; CA, 28-05, Duluth, 28-03, Personal; Chicago elevator, John Sr. to F. W. Sargent, May 3, 1927, CA 28-03, C, on Ogdensburg losses, John Sr. to H. E. Tweeden, August 24, 1928, CA 31-04, Buffalo; "end of Buffalo," John Jr. to John Sr., February 18, 1929, CA 30-01, JHM, Jr. Personal; Churchill, Canada route, John Jr. to John Sr., February 15 and March 29, 1929, ibid, see also *Northwestern Miller*, May 16, 1923, p. 712

11. Exchanging oats, John MacMillan, Sr., to Lindahl, May 10, 1926; Lindahl to MacMillan, May 13, 1926; CA 28-05, Duluth.

12. Oats price differentials, John Sr. to Lindahl, June 25, 1926; Lindahl to MacMillan, June 26, 1926; CA, ibid.

13. Sale of oats to Grimes, John Sr. to Lindahl, October 26 and 27, 1926, CA, ibid.

14. About F. J. Hays, John MacMillan, Jr., to H. E. Tweeden, April 12, 1929, CA, ibid.

15. Cleaning machinery, Lindahl to John Sr., May 13, 1926; John Sr. to Lindahl, May 15, 1926; CA, ibid.

16. Excessive charges, Lindahl to John Sr., July 1, 1926, John Sr. to Lindahl, July 2, 1926, CA, ibid.

17. Lindahl illness, Mrs. F. E. Lindahl to John Sr., January 19, 1927; John Sr. to Lindahl, January 20, 1927, CA, ibid.

18. Volume statistics are summarized in a set of handwritten tables, CA 54-12. See also charts at 56-10.

19. Misapprehension by Buffalo manager, John Sr. to H. E. Tweeden, October 1, 1927; slowness of Duluth bids, Tweeden to John Sr., September 24, 1927; CA 28-03, Buffalo.

20. Election of Tweeden as vice president, John Sr. to Tweeden, April 5, 1926; Lockport mistake, Daniel D. MacMillan to Tweeden, April 6, 1925; CA 28-03, B

21. Agricultural progress in the second half of the 1920s, see especially the year-end reviews of world wheat in *Wheat Studies of the Food Research Institute*, Vols. 2-6 (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University, 1926-1929). For an excellent summary of national legislation in this period, see Chester C. Davis, "The Development of Agricultural Policy since the End of the World War," in *Farmers in a Changing World: The Yearbook of Agriculture, 1940* (Washington, D.C.: U.S. Department of Agriculture, 1940), pp. 297-326. Quotation on "striking upbuilding," *Wheat Studies*, Vol. 6, p. 55.

22. Credit statistics, CA 41-12.

23. Hawley work with Superior terminal, F. E. Lindahl to John Sr., March 9, 1928, CA 28-02, Duluth; break with Hawley, diary entries, John MacMillan, Sr., November 9 and 27 and December 8, 1928, CA 36-07; Hawley to John Sr., September 8, 1928, CA 34-05; memorandum to executives concerning Hawley, December 8, 1928, CA 33-02, Personal; see also John Work interview with Julius Hendel, ca. 1964, John Work MS CA.

24. A. M. Prime hearing, John MacMillan, Sr., to Prime, June 25, 1929, CA 31-02; board of directors resolution, ibid., June 29, 1929.

25. Frank Neilson shift to Cargill organization, see John MacMillan, Sr., to John Jr., July 1, 1926; John Sr. to Fred Hanchette, December 7, 1926; CA 28-04.

26. Fobbing, John Sr. to Lindahl, October 11, 1927; Lindahl to John Sr., October 22, 1927; A. M. Prime to John Sr., ibid., CA 28-05, Duluth; John Jr. to F. J. Hays, December 18, 1929,

CA Whitney MacMillan MS 5, Lindahl willingness, John Jr. to John Sr., February 23, 1929, CA 20-01, JHM, Jr Personal Paraphrased quotation on effect of World War I on CIF trading from Charles B. Kuhlmann, *The Development of the Flour Milling Industry in the United States*, op. cit., pp 311-12.

27. Inroads of Continental, Dreyfus and Bunge, John MacMillan, Jr., to John Sr., March 20, 1929, CA 30-01, JHM Jr. Personal
28. "Raced," John Sr. to John Jr., July 9, 1929, CA 33-02.

9. Hoover's Farm Board (pp. 340-74)

1. Agriculture in 1920s, Ross M. Robertson, *History of the American Economy*, 3rd ed. (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1973), p. 515; Chester C. Davis, "The Development of Agricultural Policy since the End of the World War," op. cit., pp. 297-341; M. K. Bennett, Helen C. Farnsworth and Alonzo E. Taylor, "The World Wheat Situation, 1929-30," *Wheat Studies* 7 (1930-31) 89-164; Gilbert C. Fite, *George N. Peek and the Fight for Farm Parity*, op. cit., chaps. 6-14. For agricultural views of Herbert Hoover, see especially David E. Hamilton, "From New Day to New Deal: American Agriculture in the Hoover Years, 1928-1933," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1985, chap. 2; David Bruce Miller, "Origins and Functions of the Federal Farm Board," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Kansas, 1973, chap. 2; Hoover's overall views on associational activities, Evan B. Metcalf, "Secretary Hoover and the Emergence of Macroeconomic Management," *Business History Review* 49 (Spring 1975): 60-80. See also Ellis W. Hawley, *The Great War and the Search for a Modern Order: A History of the American People and Their Institutions, 1917-1933* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1979), pp. 104-7; Murray R. Benedict, *Farm Policies of the United States, 1920-1950: A Study of Their Origins and Developments* (New York: The Twentieth Century Fund, 1953), pp. 239-41.

2. Fite, *George N. Peek* . . . , op. cit., p. 225.

3. Secretary Hyde, *Northwestern Miller*, March 6, 1929, John MacMillan, Jr., to John Sr., March 20, 1929, CA 30-01, Personal.

4. John Sr. to J. M. Barker, April 29, 1929, Barker to John Sr., June 24, 1929, CA 31-01, B. "Anglo-Saxon code of law," Cargill MacMillan to Sumner B. Young, December 21, 1929, CA 41-12.

5. Buyers backing away, John Sr. to George E. Roberts, May 20, 1929, CA 31-02, R; enormous inventory and notes payable, John Sr. to T. F. Baxter, May 20, 1929, CA 31-01, B. reserve, John Sr. to John Jr., June 27, 1929, CA 33-02, Personal; bidding vs. CIF, ibid., August 3, 1929; "wonderful" carrying charge, John Sr. to A. M. Prime, November 4, 1929, CA 31-02, PQ.

6. Alexander Legge meeting with cooperatives, John Sr. to John Jr., July 30, 1929, CA 33-02, Personal; Minneapolis Grain Commission Merchants Association to Legge, November 21, 1929, CA 31-01, F; reply, ibid., November 22; John Sr. meeting with Legge, telegram from John Sr. to John Jr., November 21, 1929, Gerald Nye quotation in *St. Paul Pioneer Press*, December 10, 1929, *Nation's Business* quotation, November 9, 1929, CA 32-03, Misc.; John Sr. newspaper statement in *Minneapolis Sunday Journal*, November 17, 1929; Legge on "special right or franchise," in his letter to Walter Newton, February 17, 1930. Herbert Hoover Papers, Herbert Hoover Presidential Library, West Branch, Iowa; on efficiency, John Sr. to Curtis L. Mosher, January 3, 1930, CA 31-01, N; farm machinery comparisons, John Sr. to S. D. Gaugher, December 18, 1929, CA 31-01G; *Wheat Studies*, 7:155.

7. For an excellent analysis of the early experience of the federal Farm Board, see "Wheat in the First Year of the Agricultural Marketing Act," *Wheat Studies* 7 (1930-31) 145-64, press release on Alexander Legge remarks, federal Farm Board, December 19, 1929, CA 31-01, F; "grain men . . . alone," Sumner B. Young to Cargill MacMillan, December 20, 23, 1929, CA 41-12; "radical farm bunch," J. M. Barker to John Sr., December 18, 1929, CA 31-02, B.

8. Query on Cargill note, unidentified writer to Jeffrey C. Pick, Goldman, Sachs & Company, December 27, 1929; John Sr. to Messrs. Goldman, Sachs & Company, December 30, 1929, CA 31-02, G.

9. The proposal to sell country elevators is in letter to Alexander Legge of January 15, 1930, signed by J. H. MacMillan, B. H. Woodworth and F. B. Wells, CA 31-02, Personal. The Legge reply to them is dated January 25, 1930, CA 41-12, "anything to come of this," John Sr. to J. M. Barker, January 17, 1930, CA 31-02, B. The offer to the American Farm Bureau Fed-

eration is dated July 12, 1924, and signed by Cargill and 32 other companies, CA 41-12; see also *Minneapolis Journal*, July 21, 1924; "war," Miller, op. cit., p. 178.

10. The "carrying charge" issue is discussed in detail in *Wheat Studies* 7:158-64, and in John Sr. to Bert H. Lang, April 12, 1930, CA 31-01, Z.

11. "Stiffen up," John Jr. to John Sr., telegram, February 3, 1930, CA 30-01, Personal, "Publicity Committee," John Jr. to John Sr., ibid., for exchanges with the Farm Board, see John Sr. to Alexander Legge, March 1, 1930, and telegram, ibid., March 3, 1930, Cargill Elevator Company to Arthur M. Hyde, March 1, 1930, on Legge's "a new crop month," his letter to MacMillan of March 7, 1930, "Armour Grain Co.," John Jr. to Walter H. Newton, March 3, 1930, "our advice . . . to wire Mr. Barnes," John Jr. to Legge, March 14, 1930, "always glad to have the opinion," Alexander Legge to John Sr., March 22, 1930, CA 31-01.

12. For Chamber of Commerce meetings, April 30 through May 2, 1930, see Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 173-75; and Miller, op. cit., pp. 217-20. Quotations from federal Farm Board, press release, May 2, 1930, a copy of the Chamber resolution is in CA, 31-02, Public Relations Reprints.

13. John Sr.'s solution for the May contract, his letter to Lang, March 14 and April 3, 1930; resolution of issue, John Sr. to Lang, May 1, 1930, and John Sr. to George Roberts, May 1, 1930, CA 31-01. Barker to John Sr., July 2, 1930, CA 31-01, B.

14. The delivery rule amendments, to Rules 282 and 292, were proposed by the CBOT board of directors in their meeting of September 16, 1930, and posted for vote on September 24, 1930, CA 31-01, Chicago Delivery Rule. John Sr.'s letter to J. W. T. Duvel is dated September 11, 1930, his letter to Arthur M. Hyde, September 24, ibid. Duvel's reply was sent through his assistant, J. M. Mehl, September 19, 1930. Hyde's reply is dated September 30, the several letters of John Sr. to bank presidents were dated September 24, ibid. The letter to J. M. Barker after the vote is dated October 7, 1930, ibid. See also *Business Week*, September 17, 1930, and John Sr.'s letter to them, dated September 20, 1930, ibid.

15. Effects in Europe, John Sr. to George E. Roberts, March 28, 1930, CA 31-01, R; "Russian business is paralyzing," John Jr. to Julius Hendel, February 10, 1938, CA 30-01. Quotations on Russian trading on Chicago Board of Trade, *Northwestern Miller*, October 1 and 15, 1930. For comments on Secretary Arthur Hyde's attitudes on Soviet trading, *Northwestern Miller*, October 1, 1930, see also Hamilton, op. cit., pp. 208-9; Josef Stalin quotation from *New York Times*, November 26, 1930.

16. Drought of 1930, David E. Hamilton, "Herbert Hoover and the Great Drought of 1930," *Journal of American History* 68 (March 1981) 850, quotation on Hoover, p. 875; see also Hamilton's book, *American Farm Policy from Hoover to Roosevelt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991).

17. Alexander Legge to George Milnor, December 31, 1930, Legge file, Grain Stabilization Corporation Papers, RG 103, National Archives.

18. John MacMillan, Jr., "Prospective Grain Prices for the New Crop Year and Their Effect on the General Economic Situation," February 9, 1931 (updated November 12, 1932), CA 41-12; on millers' reluctance, John Jr. to John Sr., February 2, 1931, CA 32-03.

19. Legge "isolated," Morris Barker to John Sr., January 24, 1931, CA 31-02; Legge "broken," Forrest Crissey, *Alexander Legge, 1866-1931* (Chicago: Alexander Legge Memorial Committee, 1936), p. 206, "smash the grain trade," John Sr. to Morris Barker, August 7, 1931, CA 31-02, B. Arthur Hyde statement on Hoover's "childlike faith," entry of November 10, 1930, Niles A. Olsen Papers, Iowa State University, Ames.

20. Cargill handling Farm Board sales, John Jr. to John Sr., February 11, 1931, and February 27, 1931, CA 32-03.

21. For analysis of the crop year 1930-1931, see "The World Wheat Situation, 1930-31," *Wheat Studies* 8 (December 1931) 67-186. private grain trade policies, p. 155, for problems of "out of position" grain and bargaining sessions on rates, see especially John Sr. to Bert H. Lang, March 30 and April 4, 1931, and Lang to John Sr., April 2, 1931, CA 31-01, John Jr. to George Milnor, April 10, 1931, CA 32-03, Grain Stabilization Corporation to Cargill Elevator Company, April 21, 1931, John Jr. to W. C. Engel, April 23, 1931, ibid., diplomacy of John Sr. and John Jr., see John Sr. letter to C. V. Eshroger, April 10, 1931, CA 31-01. Quotation on "most vilified . . . since the Freedman's Bureau," Hamilton, op. cit., p. 232.

22. "Grain paper . . . in east," Frank D. Hixon to John Sr., July 1, 1930, CA 31-02; the year-end review is in John Sr. to Hixon, July 16, 1931, CA 33-02.

23. John Sr.'s description of new corporation in his letter to Hixon, June 27, 1930, CA 31-02, H. The certificate of incorporation for Cargill, Incorporated, is dated July 18, 1930; the exchange of stock with the Cargill Securities Company is noted in its meeting of July 13, 1931. For analysis of the effects on stockholdings of the establishment of Cargill, Incorporated, and this subsequent stock exchange, see unsigned memorandum of Cargill MacMillan, June 11, 1947, CA 36-05; on "women members," see "Historical Outline of the Estate of W. W. Cargill," ca. October 7, 1935, CA.

24. The details of the new second preferred stock are elaborated in the Cargill Elevator Company shareholder meetings of August 11 and 20, 1931. The internal memorandum "Outline of Proposed Plan to Be Presented to Cargill Elevator Co. Stockholders at Annual Meeting for Discussion" is undated and unsigned, CA 33-02; John Sr.'s letter to Frank Hixon is dated August 17, 1931, *ibid.*; the *Cargill News* article is in its August 1931 issue. The results of the first year of exchange of stock is noted in John Sr. to Goldman, Sachs & Company, July 28, 1932, *ibid.*; these figures also in Cargill Elevator Company minutes of annual shareholder meeting, August 9, 1932; nonemployee transfers, Cargill MacMillan to James B. Taylor, September 25, 1931, and July 5, 1932, CA 45-03.

25. Oswego negotiations, series of telexes between John Jr. and Harold Tweeden, late October 1929, CA 30-01, Personal. Hotel bill problem, John Jr. to John Sr., February 20, 1930, *ibid.* The Cargill training program is first mentioned in *Cargill News*, July 1930; "opportunity," *ibid.*, November 1931; the "kindergarten," John Jr. to L. L. Crosby, July 24, 1931, CA 32-02; recruiting policy, Maurice R. Smith to John Jr., January 10, 1934, and John Jr. to Smith, January 23, 1934, CA 35-06, S.

26. Hiring friends, John Jr. to Ed Grimes, April 16, 1935, CA 36-04; pirating of employee, John Jr. to Carlos Falk, May 1, 1936; R. F. Straub to John Jr., May 7, 1936, CA 36-04, B; "approximately six Yale men," John Jr. to Stuart H. Clement, March 25, 1936, CA 36-04; "avoid the diamond in the rough," in John Jr. speech, May 10, 1946, "Theory and Practice of Organization," in *Cargill's Business*, corporate training manual, Gerald A. Joines, general editor.

27. "Marked preference for . . . Yale," John Jr. to Delano DeWindt, January 3, 1946, CA 46-08; "salaries . . . low," undated memorandum, ca. February 1933, CA 35-07.

28. Julius Hendel injury in train crash, John Jr. to John Sr., February 28 and March 3, 1931, CA 32-03; friction, John Sr. to J. Hendel and E. J. Grimes, May 12, 1931, CA 33-02; Lindahl response on centralization of rye in his letter to John Sr., July 29, 1931, *ibid.*; buying wheat in Omaha, John Sr. to L. L. Crosby, August 12, 1931, CA 33-03, O.; petitions for signatures, memorandum of September 2, 1931, under signature of John Sr., CA 33-02; "I am tired," John Sr. to J. M. Barker, January 26, 1931, CA 31-02, B; John Sr. medical problems in early 1932, see J. A. C. Colston to Cargill MacMillan, February 9, 1932, and attached medical report; John Sr. describes his recovery in a letter to Edna MacMillan, June 20, 1932, CA 34-04; "cured," John Jr. to John Sr., February 29, 1932, CA 32-03.

29. Shifting Boden and Flood, John Jr. to John Sr., March 4, 1932, CA 32-02; advertising, John Sr. to "All Department Managers," July 23, 1931, CA 32-06; "signed by the dictator," H. B. Juneau and Eileen Lewis to "All Stenographers," August 6, 1931, CA 32-07; proposed feed project, Oscar O. Opsal to E. J. Grimes, August 28, 1931, Grimes to Opsal, September 1, 1931, CA 32-06; for discussion of relation between centralization and diversification, see Thomas K. McCraw, ed., *The Essential Alfred Chandler: Essays Toward a Historical Theory of Big Business*, op. cit., pp. 114, 126-29; chastisement of Harold Tweeden, John Sr. to Tweeden, May 27, 1931, CA 33-02; molasses project, Grimes to P. C. Sayles, October 27, 1931; Sayles to Grimes, January 15, 1932, CA 33-01; proposed molasses project, A. L. Kefer to John Jr., with attachment, January 4, 1932, CA 32-03; A. L. Kaplan to John Jr., April 13, 1932, and John Jr. to Kaplan, April 18 and July 1, 1932, *ibid.*; Walter Stanger to R. W. Carmichael, January 14, 1932, and Carmichael to Stanger, January 20, 1932, CA 32-06; Tweeden's merchandising changes, John Jr. to Tweeden, May 3, 1932, *ibid.*; Harold Tweeden's role, John Sr. to D. L. Norby, C. Costenbader, C. C. Boden and B. J. Bolan, July 5, 1932, CA 33-02; John Sr. to Harold Tweeden, May 25, 1932, *ibid.* Memorandum on secrecy, September 7, 1932, CA 33-02; two representative manager responses are L. N. Cote to John Sr., September 9, 1932, and L. L. McCulloch to John Sr., same date, both in CA 33-03.

10. New Elevators, Cargill's Bank Crisis (pp. 378-418)

1. Quotation on Omaha as feeder for Duluth, John MacMillan, Jr., testimony, *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant v. the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago*, CEA Docket #6, testimony, p. 559; on initiation of Omaha terminal, John Jr. to John Sr., telegram December 5, 1929, CA 30-01, Personal; bargaining with Omaha Grain Exchange, John Jr. to John Sr., March 1, 1930, *ibid.*; effort to persuade Farm Board on Omaha elevator, John Sr. to Alexander Legge, March 1, 1930; the text was written by John Jr., as described in his letter of March 1 to John Sr., CA 31-01 and 30-01; Frank Neilson role, *Cargill News*, April 1933.

2. Omaha plans, John Jr. to Rodger R. Kauffman, July 31, 1930, CA 30-02, T; configuration of terminal, Original Inspection Report No. 232, Nebraska Inspection Bureau, August 13, 1930; see also *Cargill News* July and August 1930; *Engineering News-Record*, October 1, 1931, and August 3, 1933; costs, John Sr. to Frank Hixon, July 2, 1930, CA 31-02, H; questions about bin moisture, Bert H. Lang to John Jr., September 29, 1930, CA 30-01, F; "most economical," John Jr. to Lang, September 25, 1930, *ibid.*; "wonderful day," John Sr. to Cargill MacMillan, August 22, 1930, CA 33-02; constraints regarding visits, John Sr. to L. L. Crosby, September 5, 1930, CA 31-02; "vats," John Sr. to John Jr., Julius Hendel, Frank Neilson, Louis Crosby and Frank Hays, May 15, 1931, CA 33-02.

3. Report to Russian government, John Jr. to B. M. Mishin, May 22, 1936, with attachment, "The Cargill Design for Elevator Construction," CA 36-04, railroad use of Cargill design, John Jr. to Ralph Budd, December 10, 1935, CA 39-02, the 10,000-bushel comparison was made, for example, in "History of the Cargill Organization," a proposal to the Soviet Union in 1936, CA 36-04.

4. "Best year," John Sr. to Frank Hixon, July 11, 1930, CA 31-02, H; capacity figures from "Estimated Earnings for Crop Year 1930-31," July 2, 1930, CA 41-11 and 30-01, see also "Terminal Elevator Capacities—12 Year Figures" in *Financial and Statistical Statements*, Cargill Elevator Company and Subsidiaries, December 31, 1935.

5. Albany plans, John Jr. to Port of Albany Commission, August 18, 1931, CA 35-07; shortage of canal shipping, John Jr. to Peter Ten Eyck, August 5, 1932, *ibid.*; safety of Albany terminal, C. V. Essroger to John Sr., July 14, 1932, and John Sr. to Essroger, July 15, 1932; CA 33-02.

6. For details of grain bin accident, see *Omaha World-Herald*, February 17, 1931; John Jr. to John Sr., February 24, 1931, CA 32-03, the 1931 Omaha terminal explosion is described in *Milwaukee Journal*, August 4, 1931; a picture of it was published widely, for example, in *New York News*, August 4, 1931, *ibid.*; *Grain & Feed Journal*, August 12, 1931; discipline of employee, Frank Neilson to P. G. Ossuscik, October 11, 1932, CA 33-03; exchanges between Bert Lang and John Sr., August 6, 8, 22 and 24, 1932, CA 33-02.

7. The terminal operation costs for Chicago and Albany and several selected other Cargill terminals for this period showed the following:

Average Costs per 1000 Bu.

	Chicago		Albany		K-L (Superior)		T (Minneapolis)		Omaha	
	34*	35**	34	35	34	35	34	35	34	35
Unloading	1.96	1.62	2.56	2.60	1.19	1.48	.83	1.08	.58	.50
Transferring	2.07	3.25	.36	.33	.58	1.96	.60	.68	.49	.53
Direct transfer	1.07	2.10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Loading	1.14	1.88	.76	.76	.29	.65	.63	.66	.45	.60

*July 1, 1933-June 30, 1934.

**July 1, 1934-June 30, 1935.

Source: "Cost of Elevator Operations," consolidated working paper for final closing figures, 1933-34 and 1934-35.

The Chicago transfer terminal is described in the *Daily Calumet*, July 23, 1932, and *Cargill News*, August 1932; "anticipated war" quotation, *ibid.*, May 1932; "dodging gangster bullets,"

ibid., November 1932. The developing relationship with the Chicago and North Western Railroad is described in an undated "Memorandum for Mr. Sargent," ca. July 1932 and John MacMillan, Jr., to Fred W. Sargent, November 1, 1932, CA 32-03; John Jr.'s discussion of a possible board of director's post with the railroad in his letter to Sargent of June 30, 1932, ibid. Development of Chicago as a grain market, see Edward A. Duddy and David A. Revzan, "The Distribution of Grain and Grain Products from the Chicago Market," *Journal of Business* 8 (January 1935): 65, and ibid. "The Shipment of Grain and Grain Products from Chicago, 1924-25-1932-33," ibid., 8 (April 1935): 150; Guy A. Lee, "The Historical Significance of the Chicago Grain Elevator System," *Agricultural History* 11 (January 1937): 16. John MacMillan, Jr.'s comments on Chicago Board of Trade hostility on the Company's Grain Laboratory in his testimony in *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant v. the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago, respondent*, CEA Docket #6, testimony, p. 545.

8. Minneapolis Industrial Committee letter on unemployment, over signature of A. R. Rogers, chairman, undated, ca. September 1931, CA 33-03, M; unemployment plan in *Minneapolis Journal*, December 23, 1931, John Sr. to C. A. Prosser, December 28, 1931, and Prosser to MacMillan, January 5, 1932, CA 33-03; employee pension plan, John Sr. to F. E. Lindahl, August 14, 1931, CA 33-02; Lindahl layoff plans, his letters to John Sr., October 8, November 25 and 27, 1931, ibid.; employee wage study is dated October 1, 1931, CA 41-11.

9. For John Sr.'s handwritten draft of the Christmas message in the December 1931 issue of *Cargill News*, see CA 33-02; for general employee letter on the wage cuts, dated April 29, 1932, ibid. The July 1, 1932, letter to stockholders is in Cargill Elevator Company corporate minutes, meeting of July 1, 1932; restoring cuts, see John Sr. to Harold Tweeden, July 18, 1932, CA 32-03; passing of dividend, Robert Hixon to John Sr., July 8, 1932, and John Sr. to Hixon, July 11, 1932, CA 33-02.

10. For the University of Chicago economists' paper, "A Memorandum Presented to a Member of the House Committee on Military Affairs, April 26, 1932," see CA 32-03, M; John Jr. letter to Robert Maynard Hutchins, May 25, 1932, and Hutchins reply of June 2, 1932, CA 32-03, GH; John Sr.'s view in his letter to William D. MacMillan, May 24, 1932, CA 33-02; Will's reply of May 27, 1932, CA 32-03; Will's letter to Daniel MacMillan, June 3, 1932, CA 39-11; Daniel to Will, June 1, 1932, ibid.; John Jr.'s response to Will, June 10, 1932, CA 32-03; Civil War gold contracts, John Jr. to John Sr., March 15, 1932, CA 32-02; gold as legal tender with CBOT, ibid., March 17, 1932, CA 32-02.

11. Sets of dossiers on the "Argentine peso" matter, containing the complete set of correspondence among Cargill personnel and to and from the National City Bank were prepared in November 1932 and sent to a number of Cargill's other banks. Several of these sets are extant in CA 33-03, National City Bank. The original contract is elaborated in telegrams and memoranda, March 8-24, 1932; the difficulties are first described in correspondence of July 12-13, 1932; quotation on "your people must have known," W. A. Simonson to John Jr., August 11, 1932; John Jr. reply, ibid., August 15, 1932; "I did not wish to argue," Cargill MacMillan to J. A. Jackson, September 3, 1932; John Jr. offer of "informal arbitration," his letter to Jackson, September 22, 1932; refusal by bank, Jackson to John Jr., September 26, 1932; "blundered," John Sr. to Jackson, September 30, 1932; reply to this letter by L. N. Shaw, October 6, 1932; cancellation of Cargill contract, Shaw to John Sr., October 14, 1932; termination of Cargill banking relationship with bank, Jackson to John Sr., October 20, 1932; "exceedingly sharp practice," John Sr. to Jackson, October 31, 1932; "I cannot help but resent," Jackson to John Sr., November 4, 1932. For treatment of dossier by First National Bank of St. Louis, John Sr. to Bert H. Lang, November 29, 1932, and Lang to John Sr., December 2, 1932. Quotation on selecting "our Vice President, Mr. J. G. Byam," n.d., see CA 33-02, Personal.

12. William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal, 1932-1940* (New York: Harper & Row, 1963), pp. 2, 3.

13. "The World Wheat Situation, 1931-32," *Wheat Studies* 9 (1932): 63; Edwin G. Nourse, Joseph S. Davis and John D. Black, *Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Act* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1937), pp. 21-22; Joseph S. Davis, *Wheat and the AAA*, ibid., 1935, pp. 24-25.

14. "Farm holiday" quotations from John D. Hicks, *Republican Ascendancy, 1921-1933* (New York: Harper & Row, 1960), pp. 266-67.

15. For Franklin D. Roosevelt's prelection agricultural positions, see Gertrude A. Slichter, "Franklin D. Roosevelt and the Farm Problem, 1929-1932," *Mississippi Valley Historical Review* 43 (1956-1957): 238; "fighting grain man," C. C. Lewis to Ed Grimes, June 23, 1932, CA 32-06, L; John Sr. views on the election in his letter to J. M. Barker, September 1, 1932, and to F. E. Lindahl, October 25, 1932, CA 33-02; on FDR at Albany, Grimes to T. Y. Wickham, August 26, 1932, CA 32-06.

16. Cargill Elevator Company, "Economic Situation as of November, 1932," November 12, 1932; see also ibid., "Prospective Grain Prices for the Crop Year and Their Effect on the General Economic Situation," February 1931; these positions were stated publicly by Austen Cargill in his speech "A Thought to Think About," address, "Farm and Home Hour," National Broadcasting System, December 14, 1932, CA 33-07, and "Austen Cargill" files, James F. Cargill; on Austen Cargill speech, John Sr. to Emma Hanchette, December 30, 1932, CA 33-02, H; on terminal superintendents' comments, *Cargill News*, December 1932.

17. John Jr. to "Mother and Father," January 5, 1933, CA 33-06; ibid. to W. B. Allen, January 7, 1933, ibid.

18. These notes are listed on memorandum dated January 7, 1933, CA 35-07; on bankers acceptances, John Sr. to John Jr., November 12, 1930, Whitney MacMillan archives; H. A. Matthews to John Sr., August 23, 1932, and John Sr. to Matthews, August 25, 1932, CA 33-02.

19. John Jr. to John Sr., January 31, 1933, CA 32-03; John Jr. to C. V. Essroger, February 1, 1933, CA 33-06; John Jr. to John Sr., February 7, 1933, CA 32-03; Daniel MacMillan to John Sr., March 14, 1933, CA 39-11.

20. Cargill MacMillan to "Mother and Father," February 1, 1933, CA 34-04; John Jr. to John Sr., February 7, 1933, ibid.

21. Austen Cargill to John Sr., February 8, 1933, CA 34-04; William Feick to John Sr., February 8, 1933, CA 35-06.

22. John Jr. to John Sr., February 14, 15, 18, 21, 1933, CA 35-07, and February 20, CA 34-04; C. T. Jaffray to John Sr., April 26, 1933, CA 41-11; John Jr. to John Sr., February 23, 28 and March 1, CA 35-07; ibid., February 27, CA 34-04; William A. McGregor to Cargill Grain Company, February 21, 1933, CA 35-06.

23. John Jr. to John Sr., March 1, 1933, CA 35-07; ibid., March 7, 1933, CA 34-04.

24. John Jr. to John Sr., March 3, 1933 (with attachments), CA 34-04; John Jr. to E. H. Rawls, March 4, 1933, CA 35-06; Rawls to John Jr., wire, March 6, 1933, ibid; John Sr. to John Jr., wire, March 6, 1933, CA 35-07; John Jr. to John Sr., March 7 and 11, 1933, CA 34-04; John Jr. to "Mother and Father," ca. March 8, 1933, ibid.; Daniel MacMillan to John Sr., March 14, 1933, CA 39-11; John Jr. to John Sr., March 13, 1933, CA 35-07; see also telegrams of July 7, 8 and 11, 1933, CA 43-03.

25. "Summary of Syndicated Secured Credit for Cargill Elevator Company," undated, ca. May 1933; CA 43-03; "Cargill Elevator Company and the Chase National Bank of the City of New York, as managers, and others," agreement dated May 1, 1933, ibid.; John Peterson MS, "The Cargill story as I met it and helped it," CA; the commitment fee and custodian fee are specified in H. E. Scheuermann to Cargill Elevator Company, April 29, 1933, CA Lake 14; constraints of upper limit, John Jr. to Bert H. Lang, July 31, 1933, CA 33-06; the voting trust arrangements are documented in the Cargill Elevator Company minutes of May 1, 1933; see also John G. Peterson telegram to Chase National Bank, July 6, 1933, CA 43-03; J. E. Dorsey telex to New York office, July 8, 1933, ibid.

26. See "Report, Commission Department, July 1, 1926, to June 30, 1933," ca. 1934, CA; "Suggested Reorganization, Cash Grain Department, Cargill Commission Company," n.d. (ca. May 31, 1933), CA 41-11, Company Organization; *Cargill News*, November 1933.

27. John Jr. to Charles S. McCain, August 3, 1933, CA 43-03; McCain to John Jr., August 7, 1933, ibid.; John Peterson to John Jr., August 7 and 21, 1933, ibid.; John Jr. to E. H. Rawls, August 24, 1933, CA 33-06; Peterson to J. C. Rovensky, September 20, 1933, and to H. E. Scheuermann, September 29, 1933, CA 43-03.

28. John Jr. to Bert H. Lang, July 31, 1933, CA 33-06; "Coming to Cargill of John G. Peterson," John Work interview of Julius Hendl, n.d. (ca. 1959), CA.

29. Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., June 13 and 14, 1933, CA 43-03; "rumblings," Charles S. McCain to John G. Peterson, September 23, 1933, ibid.

30. John Jr. to James M. Sutherland, April 18, 1949, CA Lake 2.

11. International Interests: Poland, Argentina, Russia (pp. 419-55)

1. Samuel Rosenman, ed., *The Public Papers and Addresses of Franklin D. Roosevelt*, Vol. 2 (New York: Russell & Russell, 1969), pp. 11-15; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, op. cit., p. 46.

2. George N. Peck and Hugh S. Johnson, *Equality for Agriculture* (Moline, Ill.: H. W. Harrington, 1922).

3. For details of the four AAA commodity programs, see Edwin G. Nourse, Joseph S. Davis and John D. Black, *Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration* (Washington: Brookings Institution, 1937); Henry I. Richards, *Cotton under the Agricultural Adjustment Act*, *ibid.*, 1934; Joseph S. Davis, *Wheat and the AAA*, *ibid.*, 1935; D. A. Fitzgerald, *Corn and Hogs under the AAA*, *ibid.*, 1934. For an excellent discussion of the politics of the early days of the AAA, see Theodore Saloutos, *The American Farmer and the New Deal* (Ames: Iowa State University, 1982), pp. 34-97. Quotation on "piglets overran the stockyards," Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, op. cit., p. 73; Henry Wallace on "full pigginess," *New Frontiers* (New York: Reynal & Hitchcock, 1934), p. 180.

4. For an excellent description of the July 19-20 wheat futures price break, see Joseph S. Davis, *Wheat and the AAA*, op. cit., pp. 205-19; the Henry Wallace statement on wheat supplies is in USDA Press Release No. 96-34, July 18, 1933; George Peck quotation from AAA Press Release No. 283-34, August 9, 1933; for comparison of industry attitudes before and after the price break, see Grain Committee on National Affairs newsletters of July 1, 15 and 22, 1933, CA 35-09; see also "A Message from President Booth to All Direct and Affiliated Members!" Grain and Feed Dealers National Association, July 27, 1933, *ibid.*; *Northwestern Miller*, July 19 and 26, 1933. For Grain Exchange Code, see AAA Press Release No. 2169-34, March 20, 1934; *Northwestern Miller*, September 13, 1933; wages and hour provisions of code, Grimes to C. F. McDonald, August 23, 1933, CA 35-09; "further delay a serious mistake," John Jr. to Grimes, telegram, September 6, 1933, *ibid.*; Kansas City Exchange objections, unnamed executive of Exchange to Grimes, telegram, September 7, 1933, *ibid.*, and Grimes to Thomas K. Martin, telegram, September 8, 1933, *ibid.*; "unjust to Chicago," Grimes to Edgar Markham, October 5, 1933, *ibid.*; for quotation by Peter B. Carey, president of the CBOT, see 73rd Cong. 2nd sess., Hearing before House Committee on Agriculture on H.R. 8829, April 11, 1934, p. 86.

5. E. J. Grimes, "Which Way for Wheat Prices?", *The Magazine of Wall Street*, December 9, 1933, CA 35-07; John Sr. to Grimes, December 18, 1933, *ibid.*

6. "Executives . . . tired," John Sr. to John Jr., January 24, 1934, CA 34-04; lack of coordination among executives, Cargill MacMillan to John and Edna MacMillan, January 20, 1934, CA 36-01; appointment of sales manager, John Jr. to Grimes, January 20, 1934, CA 35-07; lunch room, John Sr. to John Jr., January 24, 1934, CA 34-04. For general discussion of employee welfare programs in the country, see Stuart D. Brandes, *American Welfare Capitalism, 1880-1940* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1976).

7. Kidnapping menace, John Jr. to John and Edna MacMillan, February 5, 1934, CA 35-07.

8. Citizens Alliance of Minneapolis, *Special Weekly Bulletin* No. 815, August 31, 1934, CA 35-09.

9. John Sr. on Roosevelt, his letter to A. B. Dickinson, October 25, 1934, CA 33-06 DE.

10. Never engaging in export, John Sr. to David Block, July 15, 1927, CA 28-03, 8; John Jr. views on opportunities in Europe and not "stirring up" competition, his letter to John Sr., June 17, 1929, CA 33-02; ethics abroad, John Jr. to C. C. Boden, June 9, 1930, CA 30-01; "perfect your Italian," John Jr. to Leonard Corlett, November 25, 1929, *ibid.*; "gradual" approach in Europe, John Jr. to Sir Herbert Robson, February 13, 1931, CA 32-02, 5; "hazardous operation," John Sr. to E. H. Rawls, September 3, 1932, CA 33-02, 6; For Bunge and Dreyfus competition, Horace J. W. Phillips to John Jr., April 12, 1932; John Jr. to Phillips, April 18, 1932; CA 32-02.

11. "Can you intimate to me," Siebel C. Harris to Ed Grimes, telegram, October 26, 1933; Grimes to Harris, October 26 and 27, 1933, CA 37-03; "trade likes our foreign rye," John Jr. to Grimes, January 30, 1934, *ibid.*; 5-cent profit, John Jr. to John and Edna MacMillan, February 5, 1934, *ibid.*; "encountered competition," John Jr. to John Sr., February 20, 1934, *ibid.* Alleged contamination of rye stored in Albany, see C. C. Boden to John Jr., wire, April 14,

1934, *ibid.*; proving malice, John Junell to James E. Dorsey, telegram, *ibid.*; on *New York Herald Tribune* action, C. Norman Stabler to C. C. Boden, telegrams, April 14 and 16, 1934, CA 35-06; decision by Secretary Henry Morgenthau, *Chicago Tribune*, April 13, 1934, CA 35-07; Cargill position on rye tariff, E. J. Grimes, "Brief Opposing the Increase in the Tariff on Rye," November 23, 1933, CA 35-07. "\$10 million loss," *Northwestern Miller*, June 6, 1934; see also *ibid.*, June 13, 1934, April 17, October 23 and 30, 1935.

12. "Personal liberty," John Sr. to H. S. Abbott, July 23, 1934, CA 33-06; "outlook . . . dark," John Jr. to P. S. Bush, September 19, 1934, CA 35-07.

13. 1934 drought effects, see Davis, *Wheat and the AAA*, op. cit., pp. 111-17; Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, op. cit., pp. 172-73; R. Douglas Hurt, *Dust Bowl: The Southern Plains in the 1930s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979); *ibid.*, *The Dust Bowl: An Agricultural and Social History* (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981); Matthew Paul Bonnifield, *The Dust Bowl: Men, Dirt, and Depression* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979). For description of Henry Wallace speech on "ever-normal granary," Saloutos, *The American Farmer and the New Deal*, op. cit., p. 203. See also Fitzgerald, *Livestock under the AAA*, op. cit., chap. 10. The overall agricultural results in this period are summarized in "The World Wheat Situation, 1934-35," *Wheat Studies* 12 (1935) 101; *New Yorker* quotation from March 6, 1989, issue; see also Michael Parfit, "The Dust Bowl," *Smithsonian*, June 1989.

14. Soil conservation efforts of the mid-1930s, Saloutos, *The American Farmer and the New Deal*, op. cit., pp. 192-207; "rattle-brained theorists," p. 199. Brookings Institution study's views on the "ever-normal granary," Nourse, Davis and Black, *Three Years of the Agricultural Adjustment Administration*, op. cit., chap. 15 and supplementary statement by Black.

15. Proposal for building Argentine elevators, John Jr. to Grimes, March 1, 1934, CA 35-07; plans for Argentina, England, Holland and Italy, *ibid.*, May 4, 1934; no bribery, John Jr. to James W. Ringwald, June 4, 1934 (with attachments), CA 35-06; "tightening up regulations," Grimes to John Jr., July 14, 1934, *ibid.*; Hitler, June 28, 1934, *ibid.*

16. Criticism of Omaha terminal safety, John Jr. to Victor B. Smith, June 26, 1933, CA 35-06; John Jr. to Bert H. Lang, July 31, 1933, CA 33-06; Lang to John Jr., telegram, June 12, 1933, CA 43-03. Minneapolis dust explosion of June 8, 1934, *Cargill News*, July 1934; confirmation of Omaha explosion, Bert Lang to John Sr., telegram, and John Peterson to Lang, November 23, 1934, CA 43-03; "sympathy to you," Thomas W. Bowers to John Jr., December 1, 1934, and John Jr. to Bowers, December 3, 1934, CA 35-07; causes of explosion, Frank L. Neilson, "The Omaha Explosion," n.d., CA 35-11; the insurance report, by W. H. Laird of Marsh & McLennan, is dated December 10, 1934, *ibid.*; remedial suggestions, W. H. Laird to James Hayhoe, May 18, 1935, *ibid.*

17. Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., January 16, 1935, CA 43-02; *ibid.*, January 19, 1935, CA 36-04; Cargill MacMillan to John Sr. and Edna MacMillan, January 26, February 9 and 19, 1935, CA 36-01; *ibid.*, February 26, 1935, CA 34-04; John Jr. to John Sr., March 4, 1935, CA 36-04.

18. John Jr. insurance, Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., January 12, 1935, CA 35-07; *ibid.*, January 23, 1935, CA 36-04; *ibid.*, January 30, 1935, CA 43-02; Cargill MacMillan to John Sr. and Edna, February 19, 1935, CA 36-01; John Peterson to Cargill MacMillan, February 20, 1935, CA 40-03.

19. John Sr. illness, John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, June 10, July 16 and 31, 1935, CA 36-04.

20. John Sr. to E. H. Rawls, September 26 and October 29, 1935, CA 39-02; *ibid.*, to W. P. Conway, same date, *ibid.*; this archive file also contains the handwritten manuscripts; E. H. Rawls to John Sr., October 23, 1935, *ibid.*; W. P. Conway to John Sr., November 1, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to H. M. Giles, July 15, 1935, CA 39-02, M; John Sr.'s diary confirms the relevant dates, CA 34-04; Rawls had advocated bankers' acceptances in November 1930, John Sr. to John Jr., November 18, 1930, CA Whitney MacMillan MS 7; John Peterson quotation on Guaranty Trust in "Banks, Men and Business," *Cargill's Business, A General Information Manual . . .*, Training Department (Gerald A. Joines, general editor), January 20, 1949, p. 474.

21. For an excellent analysis of the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Act, see Theodore Saloutos, *The American Farmer and the New Deal*, op. cit., pp. 236-45.

22. Negotiations in Argentina, John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, ca. February 1 and June 10,

1935, CA 45-02; Maxwell Upson to John Jr., February 26 and June 10, 1935, CA 36-03; J. W. Ringwald to John Jr., April 19 and May 22, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to Upson, April 5, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to Ringwald, May 13, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to Ed Grimes, June 10, 1935, CA 36-04. Negotiations with Bunge North American Grain Corporation, John Jr. to Carlos Falk, July 17, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to Ed Grimes, July 18, 1935, *ibid.*; "cut wide open," C. C. Boden to John Jr., wire, July 12, 1935, CA 36-03; termination of elevator project, Upson to John Jr., October 1, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to Ringwald, October 29, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to James C. Stewart, November 12, 1935, *ibid.*; John Jr. to Cargill MacMillan, January 25, 1936, CA 36-04; Ringwald to Frank Neilson, January 31, 1936, CA 35-12; Ringwald to John Jr. April 20, 1936, CA 36-03; John Jr. to D. L. Williams, September 23, 1936, *ibid.*; Williams to John Jr., November 24, 1936, *ibid.* "Bring them to time," John Jr. to Grimes, July 18, 1935, CA 36-04. Statistics on Bunge y Born in Argentina from Carl E. Solberg, *The Prairies and the Pampas*, op. cit., pp. 67, 143; "sells . . . rope," Nick Butler, *The International Grain Trade: Problems and Prospects* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1930), p. 104; on overall United States private investment in Argentina, Mira Wilkins, *The Maturing of Multinational Enterprise: American Business Abroad from 1914 to 1970* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1974), *passim*.

23. The Russian proposal was outlined in John Jr. to B. M. Mishin, May 22, 1936; attached was memorandum on "The Cargill Design for Elevator Construction," CA 36-04. The country elevator proposal was elaborated in John Jr. to A. Y. Sokolov, July 9, 1936, *ibid.*; "tremendous strength," John Jr. to John Sr., March 24, 1937, CA 38-04.

24. John Jr.'s alfalfa feed project was first mentioned in his letter to Cargill MacMillan, January 25, 1936, CA 36-04. See also John Jr. to John Sr., February 18, 1936, *ibid.* For the early development of the Valier operation, see various letters between John Jr., Frank Neilson, R. W. Speer and Blaine Ferguson, February 24, 1936-July 31, 1937, CA 39-01.

25. Development of soybean futures contract, Chicago Board of Trade, *Report of the President, Seventy-Ninth Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago* (Chicago: Lincoln Printing Company, 1937); *Northwestern Miller*, February 26, 1936. Cargill's role, John Peterson to Charles McCain, Jr., October 27, 1936, CA 43-03. See also Paul F. Larris, Richard T. Crowder, Reynold P. Dahl and Sarahelen Thompson, "Economics of Grain and Soybean Processing in the United States," in Chester O. McCorkle, Jr., ed., *Economics of Food Processing in the United States* (San Diego, Calif.: Academic Press, 1938), pp. 341-47.

26. "Humility," John Peterson to H. E. Scheuermann, April 28, 1936, CA 43-03; Bert Lang to Peterson, August 7, 1936, *ibid.*; closing Montreal office, John Jr. to B. J. Bolan, July 18, 1936, CA 36-03.

27. Quotation on drought, *Wheat Studies* 13 (December 1936): 108. Telegrams from Daniel MacMillan to the Company, July 17-August 18, 1936, are in CA 36-04. See also note 13.

28. Feed wheat issue, Cargill MacMillan to Ed Grimes, January 22, 1935, CA 37-03; Cargill MacMillan to John Sr. and Edna, January 26, 1935, CA 36-01; Herman Lakler to Commissioner of Customs, February 21, 1936, CA 37-03; Ed Grimes to Henry A. Wallace, September 3, 1936, *ibid.*; Wallace to Grimes, September 15, 1936, *ibid.*; Grimes to Lawrence Myers, October 26, 1936, *ibid.*; Grimes to G. W. Ashworth, October 26 and November 18, 1936, *ibid.*; J. H. Moyle to Grimes, November 27, 1936, *ibid.* See also *Northwestern Miller*, July 24 and October 30, 1935.

29. Private-trade dimensions of seed grain program, see Grain Committee on National Affairs memoranda of August 20 and 26, 1936, CA 37-02; Frank A. Theis to Grimes, August 22, 1936, CA 37-01. Formal announcement by Henry Wallace in press release, Office of Information, United States Department of Agriculture, September 16, 1936, *ibid.* See also *Northwestern Miller*, August 5, and 26 and November 26, 1936.

30. John Peterson to Scheuermann, September 4, 1936, CA 43-03; Peterson to J. N. Maxwell, September 23, 1936, *ibid.*; Peterson to Elliot T. Cooper, February 13, 1937, *ibid.*

31. "Mudraking," John Jr. to John Sr., February 24, 1936, CA 36-04. Federal Trade Commission query, Cargill MacMillan to Charles M. March, February 28, 1936, CA 45-02; Dutch company, see its first annual meeting minutes, July 15, 1936, CA 40-03 (this file also documents the establishment of the firm); for Guernsey trip, see Cargill MacMillan to John and Edna MacMillan, November 12, 1936, CA 34-04; "forced to move," Cargill MacMillan to James E. Dorsey, March 13, 1937, MS collection, Cargill MacMillan. The materials on the 1936 reorganization are voluminous; see, particularly, "Plan of Reorganization of Cargill Companies,"

October 2, 1936, CA 39-02 (a copy is in Cargill Elevator Company corporate minutes). The announcement to the stockholders is dated December 1, 1936, CA 39-11. John Sr. quotation on John Jr. assuming presidency in his letter to Harry M. Giles, December 7, 1936, CA 39-02.

12. The Great Battle with the Chicago Board of Trade (pp. 457-535)

1. Disclosing Albany stocks, William B. Bosworth to E. J. Grimes, July 19, 1932; Grimes to Bosworth, July 23, 1932; CA 33-08; distinguishing spreading from hedging, Fred Clutton to CBOT membership, November 2, 1932; Bosworth to Cargill Grain Company, November 12, 1932; Grimes to Bosworth, November 23 and December 21, 1932; *ibid.*; wires, John Jr. to Grimes (2), December 20, 1932, CA 33-01.

2. The membership provision of the CBOT is in its "Rules and Regulations," chap. 11, paragraph 313; this read as follows in the *Seventy-Seventh Annual Report of the Trade and Commerce of Chicago for the Year Ended December 31, 1934* (the 1934 CBOT annual report):

*313. MEMBERSHIP IN CLEARING HOUSE.—The Clearing House may prescribe the qualifications of its own members. Corporations registered under Rule 226, which were members of the Clearing House on April 2, 1929, may be members of the Clearing House for the purpose of clearing commodities only. No partnership may be a member of the Clearing House unless it is registered under Rule 226, and unless two of its general partners are members of the Association. No person or firm shall become a member of the Clearing House until approved by the Board.

*Amended November 7, 1929; to become effective January 1, 1930; postponed to April 1, 1930; postponed to October 1, 1930; amended September 22, 1930.

Cargill had not been a member on April 2, 1929, and therefore was excluded.

For the history of Cargill's efforts to obtain a Clearing House membership, see "Brief and Argument for and on Behalf of Cargill Elevator Company and Subsidiaries, including Cargill Grain Company and Cargill Warehouse Company," before the Secretary of Agriculture of the United States of America, Agricultural Adjustment Administration, National Recovery Administration, Docket No. C-298, June 1, 1935, CA 36-04; "Ed confident," John Jr. to John and Edna MacMillan, January 29, 1934, CA 35-07; "things look brighter" and "nobody working the other side," Philip Sayles to Grimes, wires, September 21, 1934; "out with an ax" and "its Cargill all over" and "rotten talk," wires, *ibid.*, September 26, 1934, CA 35-08; "stirred up ill feeling," *Chicago Daily Tribune*, September 27, 1934, CA 37-03.

3. "Personal interest," Secretary's Correspondence, CBOT, AAA 5580, 261-10, CBOT Archives, Special Collections, University of Illinois, Chicago Library; 4-3 vote of the Code Authority, Edgar Markham to Fred Clutton, March 12, 1935, AAA 2506-233, *ibid.*; the testimony of the meeting of March 6, 1935, is in this same file.

4. For C. E. Huff quotation, *Northwestern Miller*, May 22, 1935; see also *Chicago Tribune*, May 16, 1935; *Chicago Journal of Commerce and LaSalle Street Journal*, May 17, 1935; "Code Body Finds Against Chicago Board of Trade," *The Co-op Kick-back*, Farmers National Grain Corporation, May 1935. The Cargill brief for the Code hearings (AAA Docket C-298) is dated June 1, 1935, CA 40-08; William E. Leuchtenburg, *Franklin D. Roosevelt and the New Deal*, op. cit., pp. 145, 170; Schechter Poultry Corp. v. U. S., 295 US 495.

5. Not advisable "to make any threats," undated letter (ca. July 7), CA 36-04; estimate of votes needed in undated telegram from "B. MP" to Grimes, *ibid.*; holding in abeyance FTC case, telex Grimes to John Jr., July 9, *ibid.* The amended Rule 313 now read: "A corporation may be a member of the Clearing House if two of its bona fide and active executive officers are members of the Board of Trade." Philip Sayles and John MacMillan, Sr., were such members; on October 4, 1935, John Sr.'s membership was transferred to John Jr., CA 40-05, CBT.

6. The Edward J. Grimes testimony in the hearings on the Grain Futures Act, April 20, 1935, was given on behalf of the Minneapolis Chamber of Commerce; see Law Dept. 190, "Commodity Exchange Act" file. "Horse racing," John Jr. to J. M. Mehl, June 4, 1935, CA 36-04. See also Ed Grimes to John Sr., June 15 and July 3, 1935, CA 36-04; John Sr. to Carl W. Jones, September 20, 1935, CA 39-02. For a brief description of the Cutten and Howell cases, see *Report of the Chief of the Grain Futures Administration*, 1935, August 31, 1935; William G.

Ferris, *The Grain Traders: The Story of the Chicago Board of Trade* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1988), pp. 166-98. The attitude of the grain trade industry is summarized in *Northwestern Miller*, February 13, 1935, p. 339.

7. Press release of Secretary of Agriculture Henry A. Wallace, August 17, 1935, *ibid.*
 8. C. D. Sturtevant to Executive Committee, Grain Committee on National Affairs, September 3, 1935, CA 37-01; Minneapolis "extremely reluctant to relax," Grimes to Sturtevant, September 26, 1935, *ibid.*; "Chicago should be permitted," Sturtevant to Grimes, October 11, 1935, *ibid.*; "refuse representation," Grimes to Sturtevant, October 14, 1935, *ibid.*; "be advised," *ibid.*, October 17, 1935; argument over CBOT hours, John Jr. to John Sr., February 28 and March 3, 1936, CA 36-03.

9. The new Commodity Exchange Act, signed by President Roosevelt on June 15, 1936, was implemented by the Secretary of Agriculture on June 27, 1936; see "Commodity Exchange Control Set in Motion," Office of Information, U.S. Department of Agriculture, June 27, 1936.

10. Grimes to John Jr., June 1, 1936, wire, CA 36-04.
 11. "Chicago chairmanship," Edgar Markham to Grimes, May 27, 1936, CA 36-05; "incorporation should not be put off," Grimes to W. B. Lathrop, September 4, 1936, CA 37-01; "non-assessment organization," Grimes to J. V. Lauer, August 14, 1936, CA 37-02.

12. Rye to Rosenbaum, John MacMillan, Jr., to John Sr., April 23 and April 30, 1935, CA 36-04, Personal; *Northwestern Miller*, May 1, 1935.

13. "Dummy for Continental," John MacMillan, Jr., to Grimes, June 4, 1935, *ibid.*; Grimes to John Jr., June 12, 1935, CA 36-04, Grimes; negotiations on Rosenbaum terminal, John MacMillan, Jr., to Fred W. Sargent, June 7, 1935, CA 39-02, C; John Sr. to Cargill MacMillan, June 28, 1935, CA 39-02, Personal; John MacMillan, Jr., to Cargill MacMillan, July 24, 1935, CA 36-04, Personal. Arbitration case, Grimes to John MacMillan, Jr., August 30, 1935, *ibid.* For transference of CBOT membership, see John Jr. to Philip Sayles, August 22, 1935, *ibid.*, and William B. Bosworth, Assistant Secretary, Chicago Board of Trade, to Weston B. Grimes, August 19, 1935, and Bosworth to John Jr., October 4, 1935; CA 40-05, CBT.

14. For earlier Daniel F. Rice relations, see E. J. Grimes to Rice, September 17, 1931, CA 32-06, R; on the warehouse grading difficulties, see Philip Sayles to John MacMillan, Jr., October 24, 1935, CA 36-04, Chicago; John Sr. to John Jr., January 3 and 10, 1936, CA 39-02. The Daniel Rice difficulties in loading out wheat are described in Directors Regular Meeting, CBOT, September 6, 1938, and letter from Rice to Kenneth Templeton, September 1, 1938, CBOT Archives, *op. cit.*, 143 AAA 3527. See also correspondence between F. S. Lewis Company and Cargill, December 23, 24, 25, 1936, CA 36-05.

15. See "The World Wheat Situation, 1936-37," *Wheat Studies* 14 (December 1937): 103-157.

16. The first evidence of Cargill difficulty in the September 1936 corn futures contract is in John MacMillan, Jr., to Philip Sayles, August 10, 1936, CA 36-04, Chicago. The query from the Business Conduct Committee (BCC) on "speculative nature" is in D. B. Bagnell to John Jr., August 11, 1936, CA 40-05; John Jr. reply, *ibid.*, August 13, 1936. The chronology of the September 1936 events are covered in detail in the subsequent CEA case (the case itself ruled on issues relating to the September 1937 corn futures contract but included extensive analyses of Cargill's role in the September and December 1936 corn contracts, as well as the December 1936 wheat contract): *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant v. the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago, respondent*, CEA Docket No. 6, August 16, 1940. In the CEA's "Tentative Proposed Findings of Fact, Conclusions of Law and Order," April 3, 1940, there were additional CEA proposed findings of fact that were deleted by the Commission issuing the final decision and order (this commission was composed of the Secretary of Agriculture, the Secretary of Commerce and the Attorney General); all of these deletions were exceptions of Cargill, sustained by the Commission. See also the internal memorandum by Cargill lawyers entitled "The September, 1936 Corn Incident," n.d., CA 36-03. For minutes of Business Conduct Committee, September 25, 1936, see CBOT Archives, Archives Department, University of Illinois, Chicago campus, AAA 6076-3.

17. John MacMillan Jr. to J. W. T. Duvel, October 8, 1936, CA 36-04, G; on Argentine corn, Daniel F. Rice to Board of Directors, Board of Trade of the City of Chicago, November

26, 1936, CA 37-02; see also Rice concerns about wheat grading in William H. McDonald to "President and Directors" of the CBOT, August 24, 1936, CA 40-05.

18. Statistics on 1936 United States corn crop and chronology of the December corn and wheat futures contracts from *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant . . .*, CEA Docket No. 6, *op. cit.* See paragraph 84, c, for John MacMillan, Jr., "declined to state." The order of the Business Conduct Committee is reprinted in 84, g; Cargill letter of December 12, 1937, is at 84, j; "willing seller [at] 9¢," paragraph 94. Cargill statements on case from internal memorandum, "The December, 1936 Corn Incident," *op. cit.*, pp. 54ff. See also second memorandum, "The December, 1936 Wheat Incident," *op. cit.* There is also a detailed chronology of both December incidents by Weston B. Grimes, "Memorandum, Re: Chicago December (1936) Wheat and Corn Futures," December 18, 1936, CA 38-04, Chicago office; Weston B. Grimes memorandum, "Points to Be Considered Re Withdrawal from the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago," December 18, 1936, is in CA, 38-04, Chicago office. Quotation on "moral support" of Dr. Duvel, John Jr. to John Sr., telex, December 10, 1936, CA 36-04, Chicago; on withdrawing from CBOT, *ibid.*, December 11, 1936; "tense situation," *Chicago Tribune*, December 19, 1936.

19. Cargill wires re election campaign, Philip Sayles to Grimes, December 26 and 31, 1936, CA 37-02, Chicago; comments on results and influence of "the machine" in two wires, Sayles to Grimes, on January 5, 1937, *ibid.* The results were reported to the CBOT membership in its "Monthly Letter," January 15, 1937; quotation on "explicable" from "Proposed Findings of Fact and Conclusions of Law Submitted by Respondent," *Cargill, Incorporated v. the Board of Trade of the City of Chicago*, CEA Docket No. 6, p. 37.

20. Oats position discussed in Cargill MacMillan to John Sr., January 21, 1937, and J. W. T. Duvel to Grimes, January 19, 1937; CA 38-04, Personal. The Cargill MacMillan decisions discussed in his letter to John Jr., January 29, 1937, *ibid.*

21. Cargill MacMillan to John Jr., February 13, 1937, *ibid.*

22. For Daniel Rice side of oats controversy, Board of Directors Regular Meeting, September 9, 1938 (attached letter from Rice to Kenneth Templeton, dated September 1, 1938), CBOT Archives, 143 AAA 3527, *op. cit.* Quotation on shipping, Daniel F. Rice to Board of Directors, CBOT, September 17, 1937, CBOT Archives, AAA 5380, 261-5. The Cargill charge and its withdrawal in Secretary's Correspondence, Chicago Board of Trade, CBOT Archives, AAA 5380, 261-5. Letter concerning rumors, John Jr. to Kenneth Templeton, May 7, 1937, CA 40-05, CBT. On conference with Dr. Duvel, John Jr. to John Sr., April 2, 1937, CA 38-05, Personal.

23. Statistics on 1937 corn crop, *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant . . .*, CEA Docket No. 6, *op. cit.*, paragraphs 121-31. See also *Wheat Studies* 14 (December 1937): 103-13.

24. Rice does not "expect to cover," telex from "FV UJ" to Julius Hendel, May 28, 1937, CA 38-07, U. "Beating down . . . price," Cargill internal memorandum, "The September 1937 Corn Incident," n.d., Law Department 207, p. 64; "clever, though unscrupulous," *ibid.*, p. 72; syndicated Associated Press article from *Minneapolis Tribune*, August 21, 1937.

25. Telex examples from "The September 1937 Corn Incident," *op. cit.*, pp. 39-43. The entire McDonald Committee testimony has been preserved verbatim in CBOT Archives, AAA 6061, 6071, 6073, 6074, 6076, 6078, 6080, 6081, *op. cit.*; Albert Williams testimony, AAA 6073-3; Alex Moore, AAA 6076-6; Harold Spinney, AAA 6073-7; "idle gossip and rumor," AAA 6076-10.

26. The Uhlmann and Continental contracts are elaborated in detail in *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant . . .*, CEA Docket No. 6, *op. cit.*, paragraphs 117-20.

27. The minutes of the Business Conduct Committee for this period have been preserved verbatim in CBOT Archives, AAA 6061-5 (second copy at AAA 5855-8). The Cargill brief sent to the Business Conduct Committee, dated September 4, 1937, and signed by John MacMillan, Jr., apparently did not have a title page; it was mimeographed and contained 47 pages, with additional charts; see Law Department 206. The subsequent action of the Committee is recorded in "Decision of the Business Conduct Committee of the Chicago Board of Trade on the September Corn Situation," September 16, 1937, CA, 38-04. John MacMillan, Jr., testimony before Business Conduct Committee on September 2, 1937, CBOT Archives, *op. cit.*

28. Wire messages in *Cargill, Incorporated, Complainant . . .*, CEA Docket #6, *op. cit.*,